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## THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

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## EDITORIAL.

STEAMSHIP MARIPOSA,  
SOUTH PACIFIC OCEAN, Feb. 22.

Our whole trip so far has been a fortunate and pleasant one. The snow storm through which we had to trudge at Bradford at half-past 2 in the morning to catch the train (the hackman who was to have come for us with a carriage having found his dreams too pleasant), was the first and last of winter that we have seen, and even then the snow was so crisp and dry and the air so bracing as to make winter seem fit and beautiful. On the high altitudes of Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona the atmosphere was gloriously clear and bright, save on the morning we passed Colorado Springs, when a mountain mist shut out the grand view of the snow-capped ranges that I had hoped to see again. Our only detention was at Flagstaff, in Arizona, where a derailed freight train kept us for eighteen hours, and when at last we came down the mountains into the San Bernardino valley the long and heavy rains, which made this the season of heaviest rainfall known in California since the American occupation, had ceased, and the full glory of the California spring had burst upon the land. Out of the Golden Gate we followed a clear sun, and saw him set in the Pacific as the Farrallone light began to flash, and though thereafter a wind from the southeast that blew with the steadiness of a trade wind till we had reached the islands brought with it clouds that veiled both sunrise and sunset, and sometimes for whole days obscured the sky, yet wind and sea were favorable, and our steamer ran along, over what is likely at this time of the year to be the roughest part of her course, without closing a port. After leaving Honolulu we had the northeast trade wind at its best—sometimes a little stronger, sometimes a little lighter, and sometimes bringing a passing shower of rain, but never too fresh to be unpleasant, and never too light to fail to temper the heat of the sun. And even when the northeast trade gave way to calms and gentle airs, even on the equator and then under the sun, the heat has not been oppressive, the thermometer never rising higher than eighty-four.

Very pleasant seem the tropic seas. This is the seventh time I have crossed the line, but the six times before were in my youth, and in the intervening years the recollections of what seemed to me then like the climate of Eden has lingered in my memory, and I have often wished again to feel the fresh warm breeze over the blue sea and watch the flying fish dart and skim. The reality equals the recollection. The sun seems as bright, the blue and white of the ocean as splendid, the wind as fresh and soft, and the rush and sail of the flying fish as glad and graceful as when in the morning of life I first crossed the tropical ocean. The Mariposa plows along all too fast. For so grateful is the rest of the trip, that one of her passengers at least is sorry that it is to last no longer. It is pleasant, for a while at least, to get no news and receive no papers; to wear the lightest of clothes without feeling either too hot or too cold; to rise in the morning and take a plunge in the big canvass tank which they rig up on deck, and into which a stream of ocean water from the hose is turned—a tank big enough for one to swim round in it as seals swim in aquariums; to lie

under the ample awnings and listen to the surge of the water that the ship throws aside, and watch the rolling, yet floor-like, sea and the changing clouds of the sky to the sharp, circling horizon; to listen to the talk of people of divers kinds and varied experiences, who have nothing to do but sit and talk; or to hang over the forward rail and hear the surging song of the cresting furrows, while the tints of the rainbow gleam in the shower of spray that falls about the cutwater, and from the clear, bright blue, just beyond, ever and again the flying fish shoot and sail, and touch the water, and sail again, till as quickly as they came—so quickly that you almost fancy you can hear the splash—they plunge and disappear. And it is pleasant to watch the sunset; to see the great ball sink into the ocean and the changing tints of cloud and sky, and the glory of the stars when dark comes on in a sky where the northern constellations are growing low and southern stars are rising. Such a life would ere long grow fearfully monotonous, but for one who wants rest it is for awhile about the most restful sort of a sea voyage that could be made.

The Mariposa, in which we are steaming along, is a peculiarly interesting vessel, as being one of the few steamers engaged in a foreign trade that fly the American flag. There are but five of them on the Pacific—two in this line and three in the Pacific mail line to China—and I think none at all on the Atlantic or any other ocean. Of all the things unforeseen and undreamed of that have come to pass since I crossed the line before, the most incredible, had anyone dared to predict it, would have been that in the year 1890 the United States would be sunk so low in the scale of maritime nations that it would seem a strange thing for American travelers to cross the ocean under the American flag. Yet, in the face of the enormous development of ocean trade and ocean travel, protection has brought this about. Our population has more than doubled, our wealth has increased in still greater ratio, but the "protective" taxes that enhance the price of everything that goes to the making of a ship have all but completely driven us off the ocean. The five American steamers running to foreign ports on the Pacific are but accidents and survivals, and under present conditions in a few years there will be none. The line of steamers run by the Central and Southern Pacific railroads to China all fly the English flag; the new ship, the China, built by the Pacific mail company for its China line, the finest ship yet put on the route, was built on the Clyde to their order, and flies as yet the English flag, though it is understood that that is to be changed soon to the Hawaiian. Of the four steamers of this line, all belonging to the American sugar king, Claus Spreckles, and his sons, two, the Alameda and the Mariposa, were built on the Delaware and sail under American colors, but the other two, the Australia and the Zelandia, were built on the Clyde and sail under the Hawaiian flag. In a little while the petty kingdom of King Kalakaua, with a population less than a New York ward, will be able to boast a larger steam marine engaged in the foreign trade than the great republic.

The Mariposa was built in 1883 on the Delaware by the Cramps. She and her

consort, the Alameda, were intended to run between Honolulu and San Francisco, and were built on the Delaware in preference to the Clyde with the probable view of using them in the coasting trade, did the trade with Honolulu fall off in consequence of a failure to extend the reciprocity treaty. Having already the line to the islands, where their control of the sugar business gave them an advantage, they entered into a combination with the Union steamship company of New Zealand or sublet from them the contract for carrying the mails between Sydney and Auckland and San Francisco, and finally bought the Australia and Zelandia that were put on to run opposition to them, and now run three ships in a monthly service in the Australian line, and one, the Australia, between San Francisco and Honolulu. The present contract, under which the two colonies of New South Wales and New Zealand pay £33,000 per annum for the carrying of their mails by this route, is but a temporary extension for a year, at the expiration of which new tenders will be called for if the two colonies are inclined to go on, and there is some talk of the powerful Orient company entering the field with four of their large ships. But mail subsidy or no mail subsidy, were it not for the tariff that puts American shipbuilders under a crushing disadvantage, drives our capitalists under foreign flags and blocks our commerce, there would be a swift line of American steamers running over this route.

That we can build iron ships equal to the best the Mariposa herself amply proves. Though not one-third of the size of the last great Atlantic liners that have been turned out from the Clyde and Belfast shipyards, the Mariposa is yet a first-class ship, fully equaling in hull and engines the best English ships of her size and date. She runs easily 300 to 335 miles a day with a coal consumption of less than fifty tons, and were she fitted with the triple-expansion engines that have come into general use since she was built, and which the Spreckles have had put into the Australia since they bought her, she could make a greater speed on a considerably less expenditure of coal. But from the ore that must be imported to make her plates, to the taffrail log made by my friend, T. F. Walker of Birmingham, which she drags after her, builders have been put at a disadvantage by the tariff which prevents them from fairly competing with English shipyards. All that is needed to make American ships again famous the world over is "free trade and sailors' rights."

And how the tariff blocks our commerce is shown by the fact that on her return trip from Australia the Mariposa will carry not merely coal enough to take her to San Francisco, but enough to carry, or nearly carry, her to Honolulu again. She does this partly to save the duty which artificially enhances the cost of coal in California, but mainly from the want of freight. Under a free commerce she would find in the Australian wool, which the woolen factories of California and Oregon so badly need to mix with our own growths, all the freight she could carry, but this our tariff shuts out. The Australian wool goes to England to come to the United States across the Atlantic in English vessels in the shape of manufactured goods, while the Mariposa and her sister ships carry home



coal for want of freight, and the masses of the American people wear shoddy instead of woollens and sleep under cotton quilts when they would prefer blankets. I spoke of the woolen factories of California, but they have already been killed by the tariff. Both the Mission woolen mills and the Black Point mills, which were once supposed to be the pioneers of an immense industry, and would indeed have been but for the blighting effects of protection, are now in liquidation, while the woolen mills of Oregon manage to keep on only by the advantage of a water power, which can be counted on with certainty all the year round.

One curious little illustration of how protection protects is afforded by the table of the Mariposa. Here is a ship running between a sugar country and a fruit country, yet everything in the nature of preserves or marmalades that she has on board bears an English label, the cheap sugar which the English manufacturer gets by reason of the absence of the duty more than compensating for the natural advantages which the climate of California gives.

We had a most delightful day in Honolulu, getting alongside of the wharf about 8 o'clock in the morning, and leaving about the same time in the evening. To stay in Honolulu a day is to make one want to stay a month; but we contrived to see as much as one day would permit. We saw all that was readily to be seen in the city, rode up to the Punch Bowl for the magnificent view it affords, and made a trip to Waikiki beach, winding up with a view of the fish market at its busiest. We heard the king's band play in the park, and took dinner with some friends at the Hawaiian hotel. The town is made beautiful by the trees and flowers in which it is embowered. This is indeed the very country of flowers, species that with us grow only with cultivation becoming very weeds, and a prominent feature in the landscape when viewed from a height, such as is afforded by the ride to the Punch Bowl, which overlooks the town, being the patches of brilliant color. The natives weave flowers into garlands and wreaths and bands with exquisite skill and taste, and wear them profusely on occasions of adornment and rejoicing, and the white residents seem readily to fall into the habit. Many of the passengers who sailed on the Australia, shortly after we arrived—the ladies at least—were literally covered with these floral ornaments, so completely covered that the material of their dresses could hardly be told. A naval lieutenant whom we met at the hotel wore a band of flowers around his hat and two magnificent garlands hanging from his neck, while even a staid Briton, whom we passed on the street, evidently like us a sight-seer, with umbrella under arm and field glasses slung over his shoulder, was ornamented with wreaths of roses in a manner that would have excited a sensation in London.

The desire for ornament seems largely to expend itself in flowers. The women of the native aristocracy dress like their sisters of San Francisco or New York, and doubtless follow every change of fashion as it reaches them, but the ordinary Kanaka women stick yet to the dress first introduced by the missionaries—the Mother Hubbard—making that, however, of all sorts of material and wearing it with or without anything else, as fancy, means or temperature may dictate. Shoes and stockings are the exception.

There seems to be a general air of comfort in Honolulu, and nobody is in a hurry. There are many fine houses, but their principal charm is in the state-

ly coconut palms and other tropical plants which surround them. The king has a big new palace where an imitation of European royalty is kept up, even to a couple of sentries in full uniform at the gates. The last revolution, or rather attempt at one, which was really an attempt of the king to get rid of his ministers, has resulted in the removal of the high walls which used to surround the palace garden, so that passers have the benefit of the view. The queen has another palace not so large.

Awhile ago, under the Gibson ministry, King Kalakaua, after returning from his tour among his brother monarchs, got a notion that he must have a navy, though he has really no more use for a navy than the United States have. So a nearly worthless old steamer was bought at a big price, an ex-officer of the British navy, who had been cashiered for drunkenness, was sworn in as captain, a crew of Kanakas enlisted and uniformed, and in grand style the Hawaiian navy set off for Samoa. But here his old weakness beset its commander, and the result was that the whole navy, from captain to cook, went on a grand drunk, and kept it up till they had exhausted all means of getting more liquor, having sold or pawned pretty near everything movable on the ship, when they sneaked back to Honolulu and the navy was disbanded. What a pity some such fate could not befall all the other navies of the civilized world.

An English war steamer, the Champion, and two American naval ships, the Nipsic and the Mohegan, were lying at Honolulu when we were there. The Nipsic is the ship that in the Samoan hurricane was saved by the prompt decision of her commander, Captain Mullan, who, finding that in spite of the utmost efforts of her engines she was dragging her anchors, slipped them, and, turning her head to shore, ran her on the beach and got every soul ashore in perfect order, the men going first, the officers next, and the captain himself going last of all. It was a triumph of coolness and discipline more honorable than a successful engagement. As war ships, however, such vessels are now useless. They cannot steam more than eight or nine knots, and when they attempt to sail the drag of their screws holds them back, so that any good merchant vessel could easily surpass them. The Champion could steam almost two knots to their one. As for armament, two men with hydraulic power can handle a gun on the Champion that it takes twenty-three men to handle on one of these ships. Our new vessels are of course fitted up as well as the English, but they are really as useless as the old ones, and will be just as surely antiquated by the march of invention when the time for real fighting comes, should the want of common sense on the part of the American people ever bring it on.

We met a number of the Nipsic's officers—fine, bright, intelligent men they seemed, worthy of a better fate than passing their lives in a useless business. They told me, what I had heard from other naval officers—that the single tax has many advocates in the navy. On the Nipsic they said, in fact, that the whole ward-room, without exception, was for the single tax. One thing every intelligent man who moves around the world from country to country must soon see, and that is the utter absurdity and iniquity of protection and the naturalness and beneficence of trade. And this must dispose naval officers to the single tax.

The Hawaiian islands ought to be of great interest to Americans, for aside from the story of their discovery and conversion, aside from their coconut palms and wealth of flowers, from their giant

volcanoes and shining beaches, they are especial proteges of ours. The great republic is so good to the little kingdom that it imposes a tax on Americans which compels them to pay to the Hawaiian sugar producers a bonus of two cents or more per pound on all their product in excess of what they could otherwise get in the markets of the world. The result has been greatly to increase the production of sugar, until about all the land adapted to it has been taken into cultivation. This puts a great deal of money into the hands of fortunate planters and business men, among whom the Spreckles are the most important, and it makes the chiefs and chiefesses, or the white men who had married among them or had acquired their land titles, rich by the increase of land values. Culminating in the decade between 1850 and 1860, Honolulu was the great resort of American whalers in the Pacific, between five and six hundred whale ships calling in each year to refit and reprovision, give their crews a chance to have a spree and spend their money, and to tranship their oil and bone. This business entirely ceased in the seventies, what few whale ships now cruise in the Pacific going to San Francisco. But the exports of sugar which amounted to a little over a million pounds in 1860 had risen, under the influence of the reciprocity treaty, to 236,000,000 in 1888, and a considerably larger amount in 1889, which was an extremely good year both for yield and for price. The exports of rice and of wool have also greatly increased, that of rice rising from a hundred thousand pounds or so in 1870 to some thirteen million pounds in 1889. The export of bananas has also greatly increased; the Australia, which sailed on the morning we arrived, carrying some seven thousand bunches. But the export and production of almost everything else has fallen off, all energy being concentrated on the production of the things which are artificially enhanced in value in our protected market. Of the sugar planting corporations the largest is the Hawaiian commercial and sugar company, of which the Spreckles are the promoters and largest owners. It has brought water from the mountain around to a piece of rich land on the windward or rainless side of the island of Hawaii. The company last year cleared a profit of over three-quarters of a million. The American sugar corporations have an aggregate capital of some twenty million dollars, the British of something over three million, the German of three-quarters of a million and the native Hawaiian of some two hundred thousand. Of individual mills and plantations the capital of those run by Americans is estimated at \$2,631,000; British, \$1,930,000; German, \$1,039,000; Norwegian, \$40,000, and Hawaiian none.

According to the custom house tables given in the Hawaiian Annual the value of imports from the United States, admitted free during 1888 under the reciprocity treaty, amounted to \$2,467,687, while the value of the sugar sent to the United States during the same time amounted to \$10,818,983. The total value of all exports for the same year, including supplies furnished to vessels, was \$11,903,398, and the value of the imports \$4,540,887. According to protectionist notions this is a magnificent showing, and it might be utilized to prove how "protection to American industry" has benefited Kalakaua's kingdom. What it really indicates is how much of the profits resulting from selling sugar to Americans at artificially enhanced prices goes to capitalists who live or who invest their savings in other countries. The Spreckles get the lion's share of the profits, but by

no means all, and a good deal of the money made on the islands goes to England and Germany, a good deal to China. One American merchant, I was told, had recently invested a million dollars in Iowa land.

On the sugar plantations there is a curious survival of nautical terms, introduced evidently in the days when Honolulu was a whaling resort. The financial manager of a plantation is called the "supercargo," and the laborers are always "shipped," and are paid an "advance." That is to say, they sign a contract, specifically enforceable, to work for two or three years, at a certain rate of wages, usually now \$15 per month, and receive an advance payment of one or two hundred dollars, for which one-half their monthly wages are held back. But thanks, doubtless, to the missionary influence, in the first place, the worst abuses of the contract labor system have not been countenanced by law, and since the laborer is compelled to work out no debt, save the advance, perpetual peonage has been prevented.

Under the comparatively mild labor laws of the islands the "heathen Chinese," who was their first resort, does not seem to have been a favorite with the planters. He is prone to desert, and when he deserts is hard to catch and to identify, a difficulty which is perhaps increased by the fact that he understands the art of bribery. The present ministry, in a reply which they made to a petition of a committee of citizens of Honolulu on the Chinese question, presented to them last October, stated that the Chinese had raised a large sum of money with which they had bribed members of the last legislature, and had furnished the means for the recent attempted revolution. The fear of the Chinese, aided also by the fear that a too great Chinese population in the islands might endanger the reciprocity treaty with the United States, has resulted in a strict restriction of Chinese immigration, and now there is a demand for their exclusion from mercantile business and the mechanic arts, but it is probable that the Chinese are too firmly rooted for this to succeed. The sugar planters, forming an association for the purpose, have brought under three-year contracts a large number of Portuguese laborers from the Azores, of whom there are some 12,000 now in the islands, and are now looking to Japan, from whence nine "lots" of something over 10,000 have already been brought and other "lots" are on the way. It was said that the Japanese would return to Japan when their contracts were out, but this expectation hardly seems to be justified, as out of those who have already arrived but some nine hundred have returned to Japan, and some three thousand yet remain whose contracts have expired.

The present population of the Hawaiian islands is estimated at 92,000, of whom 37,500 are natives, 19,000 Chinese, 12,000 Portuguese, 8,400 Japanese, 5,000 half Hawaiian and half Chinese, 3,000 half Hawaiian and half white, 3,000 Americans, 1,500 Germans and 1,250 Britons, under which term are included English, Irish and Scotch. The remainder is made up of other nationalities, including 500 from other Pacific islands.

The decrease in the native population, which was estimated at 400,000 in the days of Captain Cook, and at 142,000 in 1823, still goes on, and it seems now manifest destiny that the bulk of the population of these islands in the future will be Mongolian, or a Mongolian admixture. The causes of this decrease of the native population, and the relation between it and the treatment of land, is a very interesting subject, but I have



neither the opportunity nor knowledge enough to treat it. This much is clear, however, that in addition to the curses of rum and disease, the great curse of the islands has been the monopoly of the soil, the denial to the mass of the people of their natural rights.

Jarves, the historian of the Hawaiian islands, writing in 1846, in discussing the causes of decreasing population, has this to say:

But no one cause has had a more fatal tendency, both in human life and morals, than the vicious land monopoly of the chiefs, augmented and made more weighty at the national council assembled at the visit of the Blonde to regulate the succession. The first Kamehameha had done somewhat to relieve this evil by centering all power in himself, by which the serfs found one comparatively kind master not inattentive to their wants. Amid the boundless rapacity and taxation that ensued in Liholiho's reign, the entire kingdom became in a great measure one vast field of license and cruelty. The old feudal lines of demarcation between serf, clan, chief and king were greatly broken in upon. The king managed to sequester many estates and much property for himself and favorites. In the want of general order and continual change, there was hope for the needy by some turn in the wheel of fortune to secure something. Even the highest chiefs were insecure. This universal laxity could have been turned to a useful purpose upon the accession of a more orderly ruler, by securing to each individual of whatever rank security of life and property, and bestowing on all some landed rights in the latter, that they might find a value in the former. But no such policy prevailed. With a selfishness, paralleled only by the recklessness of those beneath them, the chiefs partitioned the entire country among themselves, so that at this present time, notwithstanding the many fluctuations of property and the increase of knowledge, there are not over 600 owners of soil throughout the kingdom, and less than twelve persons hold the great bulk of it. This, in itself, would not have been so great an evil, had it not been conjoined with a system aggravated from the past, which in spirit declared that the chief was everything, the people nothing. Not content to spare their goose that they might receive a golden egg per day, they essayed to kill it, that they might get all at once. The native historians of this period say that from Liholiho's time the chiefs left caring for the people. Their attention was turned to themselves and their immediate aggrandizement. The people became more oppressed than even in ancient times. Novel taxes were inflicted and new crimes invented, which bore a fruitful crop of fines and confiscations. Beside the soil, the chiefs claimed the entire right to all that was on it; even the very stones were not spared if they could be made convertible to property; the fishing grounds were seized and even fruit trees, not with the purpose of fostering and preserving them for the common benefit of themselves and tenants, but to get from them and their people the greatest amount in the shortest time. The present was the only moment, the future entered not into their calculation. As far as could be, the very idea of property, particularly in lands, the true source of national industry, was extinguished. A common man had no "home." Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the depopulation was not stayed nor immorality decreased. The relation between tyrants and slaves is ever fruitful of crimes in the one and vice in the other. The serf unprotected by the law, secure in no fruits of his own handicraft or industry, met the rapacity of his chief and his selfish claims to lands he had never tilled by cunning, deceit or evasion. Hence the character for lying, theft and petty dishonesty which we find so prevalent among the present generation. They are the natural fruits of the wicked system of land monopoly, with all its attendant crimes, which their chiefs so fully carried out. Not the least of the evils arising from this policy was the unsettled character it gave the entire population. Possessing no permanent rights in the soil, or such as were not respected, they ceased to have permanent residences. Leaving their native homes, they flocked to whatever points offered the greatest inducements, chiefly seaports—the women to sell their persons, and the men to pick up gain in any way that offered. In consequence, lands were left uncultivated, households were broken up, and the people became roving in their habits. It was vain, therefore, under these circumstances, to expect patriotism, morality and industry, the foundations of a people's prosperity, to flourish.

Some little was subsequently done for the people by giving each family a little garden patch, which was made unsalable, but it was not enough and came too late.

HENRY GEORGE.

Mr. Samuel Buell, jr., of this city asks what class of persons are to earn and pay the interest on the \$450,000 left by Mr. Astor to the Astor library. We presume

that Mr. Buell could easily answer his own question. The probability is that the money will be invested in real estate, and, while some of the income will be paid by occupants for the use of buildings, the greater part will be paid by active and busy men for the privilege of living on Manhattan island. If such people paid the community for this privilege the municipality would be able, if it chose, to establish a library equal to the Astor in each assembly district of the city. Mr. Astor has simply directed that a land tax shall be paid to certain trustees for the benefit of the library bearing his family name. If the people to whom these land values rightly belong were wise, Mr. Astor would have neither the power nor the inclination to thus, by a private bequest, regulate the application of taxation.

A rumor has been circulated in Pennsylvania to the effect that the Hon. W. L. Scott has written a letter requesting ex-Lieutenant Governor Chauncey F. Black to withdraw as a candidate for the democratic nomination for governor, in the interest of ex-Governor Pattison. A reporter of the York Gazette has interviewed Mr. Black on the subject, and the latter says that he has never received any such letter and knows nothing of Mr. Scott's preferences. Mr. Black says that the democratic nomination is one neither to be sought nor declined, but he strikes a smart blow at the Pattison programme by the declaration that at a time like this no consideration should be given to "pushing aspirants who are candidates only when they think they see 'a chance of success' for themselves, but who are conveniently 'out of politics,' and let the party and its nominees stagger along without their valuable help, when they happen to have any individual stake in the result." Governor Black, of course, assumes the proper attitude in refusing to engage in a scramble for a nomination, which the democratic party of Pennsylvania ought to be glad to offer him if it has any comprehension of the conditions through which, alone, it can achieve success.

We hope that every reader of THE STANDARD will carefully consider the article of Professor de Laveleye, a condensation of which is given elsewhere under the head of "The Social Problem." It is an admirable demonstration of the futility of communistic schemes, but it will be seen that it fails to even suggest a remedy for the evils that Professor Laveleye describes so accurately. The argument leads up so clearly to the single tax that it seems surprising that the eminent French economist should have stopped short, without so much as considering the only proposal ever made that proposes to give "to each the produce, and nothing but the produce, of his labor" and at the same time to maintain the rights of property. Such writers as Professor Laveleye, however, render the best possible service to the single tax, since they not only state the problem, but force it on the attention of those who are disposed to neglect it altogether, when it is presented by men who have any definite plan to urge for its solution.

The speech of Henry George at Metropolitan hall, San Francisco, on the eve of his departure for Australia, is now in pamphlet form and will be ready this week. It is eight pages and can be had for \$6 per thousand. This speech is probably the most complete exposition of the single tax doctrine that Mr. George has ever made before any audience in this country. Most of his speeches in New York have been before audiences more or less familiar with the single tax doctrine,

but in an address to his old friends and neighbors, many of whom had probably never read his books, he deemed it important to state his doctrines fully. The result is a pamphlet that is doubtless the most complete presentation of the single tax doctrine that can be found in that shape.

Mrs. McClardy of Texas, who is trying to organize a ladies' free trade league, has evidently thrown her whole soul into the work. We would say for the benefit of ladies in New York who feel interested in the subject, that they are cordially invited to attend the tariff school conducted by the Reform club, every Friday evening, in the large meeting room on the second floor of Cooper union.

#### THE FLAIN DUTY OF BALLOT REFORMERS.

Mr. William Sohmer was nominated by Tammany hall as a representative from the Tenth assembly district of this city, and was elected by the people. It is well to remember that the people still have something to do with the matter. In the course of the campaign Mr. Sohmer voluntarily declared his intention to vote for a ballot reform bill embracing the five essentials set forth by the Ballot reform league, and printed each week in THE STANDARD, at the head of its ballot reform news. This fact was doubtless known to the Tammany leaders, but they appear to have assumed that if Mr. Sohmer once got elected he would unhesitatingly break his pledge. Mr. Sohmer is an honorable man, interested in politics, but not looking to a political career for a living. Consequently, when the Tammany leaders here, and even Governor Hill himself, sought to coerce him into voting against his convictions and his promises, he positively refused to swerve from his course and voted for the Saxton bill. The Steckler (Tammany) association of the Tenth district proposed to discipline Mr. Sohmer, but for some reason concluded that it had better not do so. Mr. Sohmer will doubtless adhere to the straightforward course he has thus far pursued, and vote to pass the bill over the governor's veto.

On Sunday the Central labor union adopted resolutions commending Mr. Sohmer's course and pledging him the support of organized workingmen. The Ballot reform league had previously adopted resolutions of commendation, and we are informed that the Knights of Labor are adopting similar resolutions as rapidly as their local and district meetings are held. We have heard of no formal action by the trades unions except that of the Central labor union; but fortunately there is no room to doubt the practical unanimity of organized workingmen in favor of ballot reform, and Mr. Sohmer can well afford to meet the opposition of the Tammany machine in the Tenth district. He has nothing to fear in a contest before the people.

The issue thus raised, however, cannot be confined to the Tenth district. The friends of ballot reform intend to have a law passed that shall embrace the essential features of the reform. They will, of course, see to it that candidates for the legislature favoring the measure are put in the field and vigorously supported against candidates opposing it. They cannot afford to stop here. The arch enemy of ballot reform in this state is David B. Hill. The only political organization of any prominence that has enabled Mr. Hill to make his opposition effective is Tammany hall. Tammany hall will come before the people of the city of New York this fall with a set of candidates whose election would practically be an indorsement of Tammany's position on this question, and an act

of absolution for the shameful course of the Tammany bosses as disclosed by the investigation now in progress. Tammany hall must be defeated, and the only question for the friends of ballot reform and the friends of decent municipal government, is as to what combination can be most effective in assuring its defeat. In this matter there should be the most cordial co-operation of workingmen, business men, professional men and all good citizens generally. This combination must confine itself to the issues of ballot reform and decent municipal government, and those forming it must have the good sense and the patriotism to avoid seeking any advantage through the complication of local issues with the national issue that must be fought out at the same time in the congressional elections.

The men who seek partisan advantage through such a combination are enemies of ballot reform. So, also, are the men who, through fear of some undefined injury to some other cause, oppose a combination to rescue this city from the control of a corrupt machine that fights every measure to restore to the people the constitutional rights of which they have been practically deprived by the substitution of boss government for popular rule.

#### SINGLE TAX MEN AND THE CENSUS LAW.

The passage by congress of the bill instructing the superintendent of the census to make inquiry as to what percentage of the people rent their homes and farms, and as to the mortgage indebtedness on farms, is a triumph for the single tax workers throughout this country, and particularly for those of the city of St. Louis. On July 23 of last year Mr. B. C. Keeler introduced a resolution at a meeting of the St. Louis single tax league, requesting Mr. Porter, superintendent of the census, to collect the data that he is now directed to collect by the bill. The single tax league immediately took the matter up, and under the stimulus of comment from the local press began an earnest campaign. Messrs. H. Martin Williams, Hamlin Russell and B. C. Keeler were appointed a committee to push the work, and this committee sent out several thousand circulars to other single tax organizations, as well as to organizations of workingmen and farmers, asking them to adopt similar resolutions.

Mr. Porter's reply to these resolutions officially declared that he was powerless to act unless the census act was amended. A few of our friends thereupon formed the Western economic association of St. Louis, and in its name sent out an address to the people of the United States asking them to request that this information appear in the next census. They were urged to send resolutions and communications to congressmen. The success of this address was something marvelous. It was mailed to all the agricultural papers, and to the editors of the weekly editions of the great dailies and to all of the co-operative lists. It had a circulation of about eight millions, and went almost to every county in the United States. The matter was immediately taken up by wheels, granges, alliances, farmers' and laborers' unions, Knights of Labor, boards of trade, state boards of agriculture, religious bodies and other organizations, and the result was a public demand, which secured the amendment of the census act.

The movement, however, originated in the single tax league of St. Louis, and the single tax clubs throughout the United States have pushed the work so assiduously that Mr. Porter, in his official reply, stating that he could not act without the amendment of the law, named the



single tax clubs at the head of the organizations demanding the change. Mr. U. S. Hall, Missouri state lecturer for the Farmers and laborers' union, declares that if the single tax clubs of the United States never could accomplish another thing, they deserve the thanks of the whole American people for their work in this matter.

It is, of course, highly satisfactory to have this visible evidence of the value of persistent work. It ought to encourage single tax clubs in their determination to force questions of taxation on the public consideration. They are already numerous enough to accomplish something definite by concerted effort, and they are by such successful agitation as this obtaining the respect of people outside their own ranks. This adds to their capacity for further work. We congratulate the single tax organizations on this achievement, and we particularly honor the St. Louis single tax league for taking the lead in so important a matter.

#### A BOSTON CRITIC ANSWERED.

Rev. M. J. Savage of Unity church, Boston, in a sermon entitled "Other Social Dreams" treated the plan proposed by Mr. George in "Progress and Poverty" as a mere dream, and in the course of his address said:

Evidently Mr. George did not cipher out his problem very carefully. I am going to use the figures that have been furnished by a man who is well known as a political economist, and who has made a study of the matter. He tells me that, according to the census of 1880, if all the ground rent of America were divided up, it would amount to only two cents apiece per day all round. That is, my share for a year would be a little over \$7. I do not quite see how that is going to abolish my poverty. In other words, if you carried out Mr. George's theory, it would simply amount to about half the taxes that are now paid to the government.

In response to a letter from one of his auditors, asking the authority for the figures given by him, Mr. Savage replied: "See Mr. George Gunton's 'Wealth and Progress,' page 5." There are people who might not recognize Mr. Gunton as a well known political economist; but, be that as it may, Mr. Gunton certainly has demonstrated that he does not understand Mr. George's theory, and that he is not to be trusted in his citations of figures. Mr. Savage should have sought better authority for his statement, for Mr. Gunton has apparently made no effort to support or defend his own declaration. Professor W. T. Harris made a similar declaration, and undertook to sustain it by figures in the Forum of July, 1887. He based all his calculations on the assessment valuations of real estate in 1880. He found this valuation to be about \$13,000,000,000. He assumed that this is about two-thirds of the real value, and arbitrarily deducted one-half from the supposed full value for buildings. He thus reached the conclusion that the actual value of land in this country is less than \$10,000,000,000, which, at four per cent, would yield an annual tax of \$400,000,000, whereas the amount annually raised by taxation is \$700,000,000. By such a free and easy use of mere assumption figures can be made to prove anything.

In the Forum of September, 1889, there appeared an article by Mr. Thomas G. Shearman, in which Professor Harris's figures were very effectually disposed of. He pointed out the fact that the assessments are worthless as a means of estimating values. They vary from ten to seventy per cent of the true value of real estate. Mr. Shearman insists that as Professor Harris depends on the census of 1880 to show the proportion of land to aggregate wealth, that he shall not run away from the census to local assessments to prove his case. The census gives items of real estate, including all privileges over land, that aggregate over

\$28,000,000,000. If Professor Harris had applied his system to these figures he would have obtained as a result an estimated value of between \$15,000,000,000 and \$16,000,000,000, leaving out of account all wild lands held by private individuals. Mr. Shearman also demonstrates the absurdity of Professor Harris's assumption that four per cent of the present value is the maximum ground rent by showing that all mortgaged lands pay from five per cent upwards in interest in addition to existing taxes. He makes a moderate estimate of six and a half per cent, and gives his reasons for it, and then shows that the ground rent of the United States was in 1880 considerably over \$1,000,000,000, whereas the taxes that year were about \$700,000,000.

There have appeared in THE STANDARD two estimates of the ground rent of New York city, both based on carefully collected data, and in each case it was apparent that the ground rents here amount to more than \$100,000,000 annually, and that the rate actually paid on all leasehold property is five per cent ground rent and a tax of considerably over one per cent on the actual value of the land. We have not the shadow of doubt that if Mr. Savage would give himself to the study of the question he would find that the ground rents of Boston give an aggregate considerably greater than the people of that city now pay in taxation.

Of course it is absurd to assume, as Mr. Savage does, that the object of the single tax is to acquire either two, or four, or six, or any other number of cents per day to "divide up" per capita among the people. Mr. Savage says that "Progress and Poverty" is the most interesting book on political economy that he ever read, and he adds: "When I laid it down, I found myself for a little while wondering that the human race had plodded on in its trouble so long; wondering that it had not actually stumbled on the millenium, it seemed so simple and easy." The trouble seems to have been that Mr. Savage, after this one reading, laid the book down, filled only with the hope it inspires and without the least comprehension of its great practical plan for opening up natural opportunities to labor and assuring to the workers the full products of their toil. This must be so, or else Mr. Savage could not attach such importance to Mr. Gunton's foolish and ineffectual attempts to make the whole question turn on the number of cents per day that could be divided up among the people.

In the same sermon from which we have already quoted, Mr. Savage makes another remark that convicts him of failure to understand the work he criticises. Speaking of Mr. George's declaration that the earth belongs to man, Mr. Harris says:

The great trouble, or one of the great troubles, with this theory is that he either carries it too far or else does not carry it far enough. If all the things that were here before the race began its career upon earth belonged to the race, then not only the land, but all the waters, rivers, springs, all the mines, whether of gold or lead, or whatever they may be, all the coal, all the natural gas—and I do not see why not all electricity and steam—would belong to the race.

Leaving out steam artificially produced and electricity as artificially evolved, of course these things do belong to the race, and Mr. Savage has read "Progress and Poverty" in a very slipshod fashion, if he does not know that every natural agency he enumerates is included in Mr. George's definition of the term land—the passive factor in production.

But he goes on to say that if this be true then "the people that live within the limits of the United States have no exclusive right to their own territory," and "would be obliged, in equity, to divide the income with all the race of mankind." Certainly they would, if Tenny-

son's "Parliament of Man" were legislating for his "federation of the world." Mr. George is, however, a practical man, urging a practical reform. He is showing each nation, as it now exists, how to make such use of its heritage that the people constituting it shall enjoy peace and plenty, as the result of the application of their labor to that part of nature's store house accessible to them, and if the several separate peoples can each accomplish this, free trade will enable each of them to share the advantages enjoyed by all in such fashion that Tennyson's federation can exist unvexed by its parliament. Mr. Savage's criticism shows that it is he, and not Mr. George, that is impractical, while his confession of the first effect of "Progress and Poverty" on his mind, coupled with his demonstration that he does not understand its purpose or even its plainest definitions of terms, shows that he is one of the many who enjoy eloquent deductions and skip the facts and arguments on which they are based. It is a pity that so able a man should thus have shirked the study of a great cause worthy of his best ability.

#### DIVIDING ELECTORAL VOTES.

Mr. George M. Wood of Undine, Mich., in a letter printed elsewhere, calls attention to the fact that there is nothing in the constitution that requires that all of the electoral votes of a state shall be cast for the same presidential candidate. This is undoubtedly true and it is likewise true that there is nothing in the constitution guaranteeing the people of the various states the right to vote for electors at all. Any state that chose could put the power of choosing the electors into the hands of its legislature. But though there is no constitutional obstacle to such a plan as Mr. Wood suggests, it would be impossible, under existing circumstances, to obtain much consideration for a scheme to divide the electoral votes of a large state such as New York. The politicians of both parties are equally anxious to maintain the prestige of their states, and if the laws were so changed as to permit the people of each congressional district to choose their own electors New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois and Texas and other great states would count for no more in the national convention of the two parties than any group of smaller states.

Powerful as this consideration has always been, there are some indications that it may be overcome by party feeling in Ohio. A bill is now pending in that state to permit the whole people of the state to choose the two electors-at-large and have the people of each district choose the district electors. This bill, if passed, would divide the electoral vote of Ohio between the two candidates. Had it been in operation at the last presidential election Cleveland would have received five votes and Harrison eighteen. The present large preponderance of republican congressmen is, however, due to a gerrymander. The democrats will now redistrict the state and probably draw the lines just as unfairly in their own interest. If they do they claim that the Ohio delegation to the next congress will stand, democrats 14, republicans 7. Conceding the two electors-at-large to the republicans, the vote of the state next time would be 14 for the democratic candidate and 9, instead of 23, for the republican candidate. It is this consideration alone that may cause the bill to become a law, but if the example should thus be set and should extend to other states it would have a most beneficial effect.

As things are now managed locality is more potential than fitness in the selection of candidates. This can easily be illustrated by the existing political situation. Grover Cleveland is unquestion-

ably the most popular democrat in the country. He must, however, if renominated, be nominated as a New York candidate. The democratic machine in this state is in the hands of Governor Hill, and if Mr. Cleveland's friends continue their policy of inaction it will remain there. Governor Hill, if he retains this power, can misrepresent the real wishes of the New York democracy, and send to the democratic convention of 1892 a solid delegation ready to take anybody to beat Cleveland. They will be able to say to their fellow delegates from other states that the thirty-five electoral votes of New York will be cast against Cleveland if he is nominated. As these self-same men have once already defeated Cleveland by their treachery in this state, they will be listened to, if not heeded. Suppose, however, that New York voted by congressional districts for presidential electors; is there any question that Hill's friends would be laughed at in any convention that they tried to intimidate by a threat to repent in 1892 their treachery of 1888? Such a convention would know that no treachery could deprive Mr. Cleveland of nearly half of New York's electoral votes, and that his popularity throughout the country would assure his election.

Putting aside all personal considerations, it is obvious that a choice of electors by congressional districts would be much more likely to give us a president in accord with public opinion than the custom of choosing electors by states. The electors-at-large might now and then give us a president opposed to the dominant majority in the house of representatives, but this could only happen when the vote was very close, and ordinarily the representatives of the people and their president would be politically in accord. We hope that Ohio may set a good example and pass the pending bill, and utterly refuse to consider the proposed substitute authorizing the legislature to choose the delegates. This last would be a step backward that ought to destroy any politician urging it.

#### THE OHIO BALLOT REFORM BILL.

A bill has been introduced in the general assembly of Ohio by Mr. Mallon, a member of the house from Cincinnati, which provides for a general registry and the establishment of the Australian system of voting. The features relating to the registry provide for non-partisan boards of registration, but there seems to be a defect, which occurs first in the sixteenth line of section one, where a provision is made that "the governor may remove any of the state supervisors for any violation or neglect of official duty, or in case more than two members at any time be of the same political party." This is merely permissive instead of mandatory, and it seems to us that the governor ought to be compelled to remove, whenever more than two members of the board are at any time of the same political party. This same permissive feature appears again in authorizing the county boards to remove local registration and election officers. No system can be permanently satisfactory that does not divide all of the election officers equally between the political parties.

The provisions with regard to voting are substantially those of the Massachusetts system, but provide that there shall be a separate ballot box for presidential electors. Nominations by petition are provided for, and an exclusive official ballot, delivered to the voter within the polls on election day, is the only one that can be counted. The form of ballot will be like that used in Massachusetts, instead of the one proposed by the Saxton bill. Provision is also made that two election officers shall enter the booth to



assist any illiterate voter in marking his ballot, and, queerly enough, a simple declaration of illiteracy, unless the president of the election board demands an affidavit, is all that is required to enable a voter to obtain this privilege. This we think is a serious mistake. In fact, there is no necessity for any outsider entering the polls under any circumstances, as it will be easy to arrange sample ballots that will enable the most illiterate person to vote according to his desires.

Taken as a whole, Mr. Mallon's bill is an excellent one, and even if it should pass without further amendment, it will be a tremendous step forward in Ohio. Of course, it can only become a law through the action of a democratic legislature, and if it is thus enacted, we are curious to know on what ground Governor Hill's friends will insist that ballot reform is a partisan republican scheme.

#### MEMPHIS PAPERS ON THE SINGLE TAX.

The doctrines and policies that seek their practical application through the establishment of the single tax are making progress that cannot be estimated by the organized effort in their behalf. A singular illustration of this fact was given recently in Memphis, Tennessee. Animated by the ambition that possesses almost every city to make a good showing in the decennial census, the active men of Memphis have made a determined effort to have passed a bill extending the municipal limits so as to include several populous suburbs. The project met with general favor, but was determinedly resisted by a number of large land owners, who believed that the extension of the city limits would tend to lower the price of vacant land between the thickly built portions of the city and the suburbs that it was proposed to annex. The result is that the opposition of these men at Nashville has been sufficient to defeat the extension project, and there is much indignation in Memphis.

The Memphis Appeal, in an article lamenting the failure of the project, unhesitatingly points out the cause of its defeat. It declares that land that was once worth fifty cents an acre has increased in value, though still untenanted, to one thousand and two thousand dollars an acre, because people have built around it. The owners of this land have refused to contribute to the advancement of the city, and for more than half a century Memphis has struggled against the selfishness of rich land owners. The man who puts money into brick and mortar does well by the community, says the Appeal, while the man who is content with the appreciation of his possessions because others put money into brick and mortar, is a drag on the wheels of progress. It declares that it has no word against the men who are the princes in that realm, but it does attack their policy which has strangled Memphis, making rents high to the poor and begetting the grossest inequalities of taxation. Having thus explained the cause, it points out the remedy and says it wants to hear no more of property worth one thousand dollars an acre taxed at thirty, while the poor man's home is accorded no such favor. It suggests that this abuse be made an issue in the next legislative campaign.

A semi-editorial article in the same paper calls attention to the fact that at a public meeting to discuss the question, the fact that a certain tract of land might have its market value reduced was urged as a reason against passing the bill. The writer declares that it was really a reason for extension, since lands held out of use are of no advantage to the community and of no real value to their owner, though they do enable him to exact tribute from those who desire to put them to use. The writer says it is

"plain that the value of a given piece of vacant land is imparted to it, not by any peculiar virtue of the owners thereof, but by other people who build around it, and who make it desirable for occupancy and use." He goes on to say that though the principles of Henry George may never be followed, they are beginning to teach the community its communal rights, and that the discussion of such questions has already changed men's ideas concerning the divine right of property. He declares that "the prosperity of communities cannot much longer be retarded by avaricious stumbling blocks who obstruct the way."

The Memphis Avalanche bitterly laments the action of the legislature, and attributes it entirely to a few large land owners who successfully opposed extension. The Avalanche goes on to say that it is an ill wind that blows nobody any good, and that the followers of Henry George in Memphis will find in this action an argument that will convert many to their way of thinking. The Avalanche says:

When the land and not the improvements is made to bear the burden of taxation, the holder is compelled either to improve or sell to somebody else who will. This idea may be denounced by the land barons as communism, but to the plain people of moderate means it sounds much like justice. A few more evidences of the power of the few to override the interests of the many, and the single tax scheme will be given a trial.

The appearance of such articles in papers that justly command the respect and attention of the community in which they are published, cannot fail to set to thinking in the right direction men who might be inaccessible to direct arguments made by single tax advocates. Land reform and tax reform are so intimately associated, and the understanding of the true basis of rights to property is becoming so general, that the cause goes onward without conscious effort on the part of its friends.

#### THE PRESS AND ORGANIZED LABOR.

The New York Times was moved by the great ballot reform meeting of the Knights of Labor to acknowledge the service that the workingmen of New York have rendered to the ballot reform movement. It says:

There are many signs that the wage workers of the United States are developing a degree of sense and independence that augurs well for their own progress and for that of the community of which they form so large and so important a part. Much of this advance is due to the labor organizations, which, notwithstanding the abuses that have sprung from them, have been, on the whole, a beneficial as they were a necessary step in the evolution of the relations of the employed to the employers and to each other. The latest manifestation in this direction has been the active part the labor unions, in one form and another, have taken in securing ballot reform.

We are glad that the Times sees and recognizes this fact. Many who have acknowledged the inadequacy of the labor organizations to accomplish a great and permanent improvement in the general condition of the laboring people, have clearly seen that the object of the unions was the righting of a real wrong, and they have felt that the effort was educational in the broadest sense of the word.

Instead of looking at this phase of the question and showing sympathy with the objects of the unions, while deprecating their mistakes, the attitude of most papers like the Times has been one of bitter hostility to all organized effort by workingmen in their own behalf. It is this, rather than any natural disposition on the part of organized workmen, that has tended to produce an ever-widening chasm between the wage earners and the well-to-do. Lately there has been a tendency in the other direction which has clearly risen from the growing public interest in tariff reform and ballot reform; and though somewhat shy at first, remembering past hostility, the workingmen of New York, at least, have shown

themselves ready to co-operate with all classes of citizens in bringing about those reforms that concern all alike. This is notably true of the ballot reform league, which probably more thoroughly represents all classes and conditions of men than any other organization that ever existed in this city. If our daily papers of the better class would avoid the temper that they have displayed toward organized labor they would be vastly more potential for good than they ever have been in the past.

#### TAX REFORM, OR LAND REFORM?

We print elsewhere an article by Mr. W. J. Ogden of Baltimore entitled "Tax Reform or Land Reform, Which?" Mr. Ogden aims to show that presenting the single tax simply as a just tax, which is returned to the payer in services by government, makes it easier to obtain for it popular attention and support than by presenting it as an expedient for the abolition of private ownership in land. This, he thinks, is the root of the difference between the single tax men, limited, and the single tax men, unlimited. It is more than probable that the majority of the readers of THE STANDARD prefer that presentation of the question which Mr. Ogden discards, while it is undeniable that many earnest advocates of the single tax are brought to such advocacy by such considerations as Mr. Ogden presents. We can readily understand that this should be so; what we cannot understand is that, so long as the single tax is the immediate practical end in view, men who desire it should quarrel about their reasons for wanting it instead of working together to accomplish the practical object that both seek. What we want is the single tax.

We do not accept Mr. Ogden's argument that there is any necessary difference between the assertion that the private ownership is wrong, and the assertion that our system of taxation is wrong. The real object that we all seek is to open up natural opportunities to labor and to enable men to freely produce and freely exchange, assuring to the producer the full value of his industry and preventing any other man from robbing him of any portion of such product. The private ownership of land has been the means whereby some men, wherever the system existed, have been able to take from other men the products of their labor without offering any equivalent. This has gone on under the system of partial free trade and under protection. Our object is to put an end to this robbery, and Mr. George has pointed out that through the change in our system of taxation the evil results of private ownership of land can be eradicated, without interfering with that permanency of individual tenure which is essential to the highest development of civilization. While we do not agree with Mr. Ogden's argument, we are at one with him in effort and purpose, and we should regard it as a serious waste of the time of both to stop working for the single tax in order to argue out this difference.

#### THE FUTURE OF ORGANIZED LABOR.

During the time when labor organization was at its flood and assemblies of workers were in session every week, the masses learned more regarding their natural rights than they would have learned in a lifetime outside of labor organization.

In almost every local assembly or union were at least one or two men who knew the truth and were imbued with an ardent desire to spread the light among their fellow workmen.

Like leaven, the speeches, arguments and influence of these men affected all about them, provoking thought and discussion where before had been dull ignorance and stolid apathy.

I believe it to be to the interest of single taxers to assist in reviving those organizations, and that the quickest and surest way to go about it is to inquire why the organizations failed to hold together before, and having found the reason or weakness, not only help to remove it, but suggest something better and stronger to fill its place.

I therefore ask space in THE STANDARD to attempt an answer to that inquiry and to offer for criticism what it seems to me would be an improvement on the methods now relied upon by labor organizations to hold them together, while carrying out the two primary objects they have in view, viz., to increase wages and lessen the hours of labor.

Many single taxers laughed at Adolph Strasser's famous inquiry "What do cigarmakers want of land?" and at his question at the New York convention regarding socialism, "What has an organization formed to secure an advance in wages to do with an association formed for the purpose of abolishing wages and which aims at supplanting the wage system by state co-operation?"

If the London dock strikers had been advised to stop the strike and improve their condition by voting a single tax measure at the next election John Burns would probably have made answer as did Strasser.

The ground of misunderstanding then between the single taxer and the labor organizer is right here: They are engaged on different lines of reform, each good in its way. The single taxer is a political reformer, and while his ultimate object is the same as that of the labor organizer—to elevate and improve the condition of the worker—his method is necessarily different from that of the labor organizer, who is more distinctly or directly an industrial reformer committed to industrial instead of political methods.

Labor organizations are not formed mainly for political action, while single tax clubs are.

Here then is the difference and the difficulty. The single taxer insists that the labor organizer shall abandon his industrial methods, such as the strike and boycott, and use his single tax political ballot instead, while the labor organizer answers that he did not bring his men together for political action, but simply to make such progress as may be possible on the industrial line by the use of industrial methods.

If this attempted analysis is correct then the two lines of reform should be kept separate. Not only because it would disband and destroy a single tax club to introduce and adopt the strike and boycott as methods by the use of which to induce men to favor the single tax, not only because it would probably disband and destroy a labor organization to attempt to commit it to any political methods or to the indorsement of any political party which it might be to the interest of single taxers to support, but because more can be accomplished by each organization sticking to its own line of progress. Then members of either, which have come to see and approve the methods and objects of the other, will be free to join both movements without entailing an entanglement of methods.

Time was when political organizations settled matters of policy by the sword and all advances of reformers on the political line had to be secured by force. History has embalmed the memories of heroes who have sacrificed their lives in such struggles. But physical force finally gave way to reason, and now we settle such differences by means of the peaceful ballot. Though we struggle as of yore it is not now to gain adherents to our cause by force of arms, but it is a struggle of reason with reason in which we hope to convert minds to our opinions, and record the advantage by a gain of ballots. This is an easy modern and civilized method of progress on the political line, and yet even such a method has proved capable of improvement toward perfection, as our late Massachusetts elections have shown.

Now, cannot the men who inaugurated this last much-desired improvement of the methods in use on the political re-



form line suggest a similar improvement of the methods in use by our co-workers on the industrial line in the ranks of labor organization, a method in line with the progress already made and leading straighter and quicker to the particular objects already in view, an advance from and improvement upon the strike and the boycott, such as the ballot was upon the political methods in use before its adoption.

The boycott was an advance on the line of the strike, a sort of logical evolution from it. The strike stopped an unfair employer's production by aiming a blow at him in the place where he produced. It was not only a refusal on the part of the strikers to work themselves, but a refusal (so far as law would allow) to permit others to work in their places, the object being to stop the production of the unfair employer until he was thereby brought to terms. Where the boycott was an advance upon the old style of strike was that it changed the place of the strike and transferred the fight from the manufactory to the market, from the place of production to the place of consumption, the object being, as before, to stop production, but, by stopping the demand instead of preventing the supply.

It reasoned that there was no profit to an unfair employer in producing goods that he could not sell.

But the method was a strike, just the same. It still was a *negative* movement. It said *we will not* buy or consume those products nor (as far as law will allow) will we permit others to.

The relevance of all this is that it brings us to a brief answer to the inquiry as to the reason of the failure of the grand organizations of labor which existed here in 1885 and 1886.

Their methods were inadequate to protect the organizations against any well planned assault by organized employers.

The strike and boycott are old as methods, and like the sword and the musket in politics are, to a certain extent, the weapons of force. They worked fairly, perhaps, when means of communication and transportation were rude, when it required long time to move bodies of workers from one place to another, and when capital was not organized and consolidated as it now is; but to-day these rude methods are out of date and easily beaten. Hence the reason of labor's repeated defeats when it was strongest organized, and otherwise nearest ready to meet and repel assault.

Many newspapers and other advisers of labor periodically condemn the strike and boycott, but they all stop there; or, at best, offer political instead of industrial methods in their place. That won't do for us. We single taxers must not stop there. We must submit an industrial method for use of labor organizations. One specially calculated to assist their endeavor to gain increased wages and reduced hours of labor, and finally to carry as far as they aim. It must be some easy and natural step in advance of present methods. Something that will evidently succeed where they failed, and prove strong where they are weak. A *positive method*, instead of a negative action like the boycott, and one that will enlist the strength of outside public opinion instead of antagonizing and repelling it as the boycott does.

Such a method I shall, by your permission, submit to the readers of THE STANDARD in a future issue. JAMES BARTLEY, Amsterdam, N. Y.

#### TAX REFORM OR LAND REFORM, WHICH?

There are usually two ways to present the single tax. First, as an expeditious and practical means, to abolish private ownership in land; second, as a just system of taxation standing on its merits alone.

The first is the method of the "unlimited" and the second that of the "limited" single tax men.

The question of the hour is, How can we best present the single tax so as to convince men generally, and especially those who directly and indirectly form

the laws? Not that even a temporary advantage might be gained by compromising the truth in the least particular, but if so be, we might discover that the truth can be better expressed and the sooner acknowledged if presented from a point of view hitherto not very well observed.

I will offer the following comparison of forms of expression as revealing the wide difference that may exist as to methods of accomplishing the same object:

First—Private ownership in land is unjust, and should be abolished; this can be done by taking the rental value of land in lieu of all other taxes, thus equalizing natural opportunities and relieving labor and capital from all restriction.

Second—A just tax is one, the produce of which is returned to the payer in services of government, and it is because the produce of the tax (or the value of the services) is found in the increased productiveness of the land affected by them, that any tax which is paid by any other person than the person receiving the produce of the tax, and in proportion to the value that these services have added to the productiveness of his land, is an unjust tax; and the operation of such unjust taxation has directly caused the unnatural monopolization of land and the resultant poverty of the landless.

It will be seen that both forms of expression contain the same grand object—equality of opportunity. The difference is that the first simply regards the single tax as a remedy for the apparent evil of land monopoly, and the second regards the evil of land monopoly as the natural result of unjust taxation and to be remedied by a just system of taxation. These two forms of expression have all the difference of land nationalization and private possession. One denies private ownership in land and would confiscate rent to accomplish common ownership. The other would tax every person according to the values produced by the services of government received by him, and so by the government returning the tax in the said services his individual liberty and ownership in his land would be emphasized. One asserts that the system of land ownership is wrong; the other asserts that the system of taxation is wrong. Both agree that the single tax would accomplish the overthrow of land monopoly and establish equality of opportunity.

It is my belief that the second of the forms of expression is true rather than the first, and that a presentation of the single tax on its merits alone as a true system of taxation will find a more general acceptance and accomplish practical results sooner than the first, which I think is not logically true; for, if a remedy for the evils of our social system is found in the single tax, does it not follow that there is another explanation of the cause of the trouble than the statement, "Private ownership in land is unjust?" If just taxation can cure the disease, may it not have been caused by unjust taxation?

But, says the land reformer to the tax reformer, where is your inspiration? Can the discussion of a mere fiscal reform awaken the consciences of men as can the great moral ruth that all men have equal rights to the use of the earth?

The advantage is on the side of the tax reformer. "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue and if there be any praise," he can "think on these things."

Is the alleged injustice of private ownership in land and the abuse of land monopoly more detestable than the parent wrong of unjust taxation? The Continental congress declared for independence, not because the lands of the colonists were held by alien proprietaries to whom they paid rent, but because they would not be taxed without representation; and to-day the attention of men can be awakened by an appeal to their

proper interests in the matter of taxation better than by declaring for the abolition of land ownership, involving entanglements of compensation in the minds of practical men and requiring subtle distinctions between possession and ownership.

There is not a social wrong that can be urged as proof of the injustice of land monopoly that cannot be shown to have been occasioned and to be now sustained by the false system of taxation, for land monopoly itself exists only because of unjust taxation.

The attempt to justify a change in the system of taxation merely as an expedient to accomplish land reform, whether from the standpoint of land nationalization or of those who would co-establish common possession and private possession, is disparaging to the system itself, and be it noted, that unless the system of taxation be found just, considered without reference to other reforms, it will then prove incomplete to accomplish the equality of opportunity that is the aim of land reformers.

So I maintain that the proof that the single tax is a just tax, and that it can be applied without disturbing property in any form, is more effective than the arbitrary demand that the single tax be adopted because it will accomplish the alleged nobler object—the abolition of private property in land.

In thus preferring the tax reformer to the land reformer I do not disparage the arguments of land reformers in so far as they inveigh against land monopolization, but only address myself to the question: Which is the true way to prove the single tax to be a just tax? And this opens the question: What is a just tax?

In Chamber's Encyclopedia, in the definition of taxation, is the following: "Any tax, the produce of which is not returned to the payer in services of government, is an unjust tax;" positively expressed it would read: *A just tax is one the produce of which is returned to the payer in services of government.* And conversely: *Every person should pay taxes according to the value of the services of government returned to him.*

As I rest my entire argument on these propositions, I invite careful criticism, for if any error is contained in these plain statements I confess it has escaped my notice. Having found a full, clear and accurate definition of a just tax, the first division of the text is the services of government, and secondly, the return of the produce of the tax, or the value of the services to each taxpayer.

First—What are the services of government?

If anyone has not made this inquiry before it will be instructive, if he lives in the city, to get the last annual message of the mayor and read the various items of expenditure with the summary of each department of city government.

If he lives in the county, he can procure the last annual report of the county commissioners; the reports of the state tax commissioner and comptroller will enlighten him as to the services of government rendered by the state.

In the cities of Maryland, as for instance Baltimore, the services of government are: Department of justice, police department, fire department, water department, harbor masters department, department for opening, grading and paving streets and constructing sewers and bridges, health department, lighting streets, cleaning streets, public schools, city poor.

To administer these services there are a legislative and an executive board of government embracing the tax collector, register, comptroller and the various boards which control the management of the departments—but these are a part of the machinery of government and in their respective offices are represented in the services rendered to the taxpayers who employ them.

In the counties the services of government are: Public roads, public schools, department of justice.

In the state of Maryland the services of government are: The distribution of a

public school fund; the state courts of justice; the control of the police (the expense of which is borne by the local governments); the state militia, and a special oyster navy for the regulation of that industry according to law; the granting of charters to railroads and other corporations, and the supervision and regulation of such corporations in so far as they enjoy public franchises.

Having found what are the services of government within the state, the second division of our text requires elucidation. The return of the value of the services to each taxpayer. How are these services distributed? Take the list of city services and ask the question of each of them respectively.

How is the service of justice distributed? The department of justice is divided into police courts and civil courts. The first is simply a part of the police department, and the value of its service is distributed with that of the police. The civil courts in so far as they do not threaten or protect (in which function they too are a part of the police) serve the special interests of individuals and corporations, and in Maryland are supported by those who receive the service.

How is the police service distributed? Simply, by the street.

And the fire department? Also by the street.

And the water department? By the street.

And the health department? By the street.

In short, the opening, grading and paving of a street, including sewers and bridges, the lighting and cleaning of streets, the services of fire, police and water departments, are each and all street services. There remain the public schools and city poor. The difference between the manner of distributing the services of the public schools and that of each of the other departments is, that while in those the street conducts the service to the individual, in the department of public schools the street conducts the individual to the service.

The department of city poor is a public charity, and consequently renders no specific service to any but the recipients, who are not taxpayers.

It is thus seen that in a city the service of government are comprehended in the word street; also, in the counties they are comprehended in the roadway, and, as the services of the state government are distributed in the cities and counties and are simply the extension of, or are supplemental to the local governmental services, it is proved that all the services of government, state, county and city, are road or street services. An examination into the services rendered by the national government will prove the same thing.

There are also in the elaborate and refined conditions of modern civilization other services which, while not usually performed by government, are at least performed by quasi-public corporations who enjoy the franchises of the public streets and roads, and do render service to the public, such as steam railroads, street railways, gas, telephone, electric light, telegraph and district messenger service.

And all of these are services of the street or road.

Having found the means of distribution of the services of government, it remains to determine the value of these services returned to each taxpayer.

It has not escaped the observation of at least one class of persons that the present system of taxation is unequal, and that investment can be made in such a way that the owner will receive value for which he will pay nothing, or what is the same thing, he will receive values that far exceed the proportion he actually pays for, and other persons pay more than their share, or enough to meet his deficit.

The water department, the gas companies, the railways and certain other street services are usually paid for by the users of them, and yet they confer values that are not returned to the users and are



not paid for, at least to the departments named.

How much value is added to a vacant lot by the laying of water and gas mains and street railways in the street on which it fronts?

The value of a lot of land is determined by its relative capacity to produce wealth, and the large difference in value between a city lot and a country lot of the same size is due to the multiplied advantage for communication afforded by the elaborate character of the streets, the effect of which upon the land bordering on the streets is to largely increase its relative capacity to produce wealth. That population gives value to land by creating a demand for its use is true; yet it is also true that the values of land are not in proportion to the number of people occupying any given locality. The relative character of the people determines relative value.

The average person in New York state represents three times as much land value as the average person in Mississippi; and the same identical population would average more land value in one country than in another, for other people than those forming one society affect the relative value of the land of that society, so that a city whose situation is in quickest communication with the most numerous and intelligent populations will show a larger proportion of land value per inhabitant than any other city not so well located. And this relative value that attaches to the entire land of a city is not only because of the relative advantage of location as regards the availability of communication with other cities and populations under the same state or national government, but it is also due to the availability of communication with all cities and populations on the globe. From which I conclude that while population gives value to land, it is not the immediate population that occasions the entire relative value of the land of any given community, but rather the availability of communication between the individuals forming that community, and between that population and other populations by the streets and roadways that forms the means of communication. It is not population simply, but population organized and administering government, that occasions relative land values.

Without means of communication between populations there would be no relative land values as between those populations; and in an uncivilized population, where the government renders no service of communication even of the rudest character, there are no relative land values as between the sites of different wigwams or lodges. It will be found that the first stage above savagery is marked by an attempt at affording means of communication. I have found that this is the one function of government; from the voluntary co-operation of the pioneers who blaze the trees that mark the way to the settlement in the forest, to the mule trails and rough wagon roads, from these to better roads until iron and steel joins the distant communities and distance and labor is almost obliterated by steam and electricity, the dirt roads of the town are elaborated into hard, even pavements with railways on them, and sewers and pipes in them, serving water and gas to the lots bordering on the streets and carrying off the wastes of the city. This progress in the means of communication has not tended to lessen the difference in the relative values of land, but has increased it. The trifling advantage of a central location over surrounding land, under the rude conditions of a pioneer settlement, is multiplied as it becomes the center of a widening circle of dense population; and the better the means of communication the larger the circle forms about the central point, and where the relative advantage of one location over another may have been as 2 to 1, it is now as 100 to 1.

I have shown that the services of government are comprehended in the word street or roadway, and that any one of its functions is not less a service of government when it is performed by private

persons and paid for only by those who use it.

I have shown that land values do not exist until communication is established between individuals and populations, and that the relative value of land is owing to the relative capacity to produce wealth which is entirely dependent on the availability of communication with population.

It follows, that as the relative value of land is in proportion to the availability (or, as it is well expressed, the accessibility) of means of communication, the value of the services of government returned to each taxpayer is to be found in the value of his land, as related to population, through the medium of the roadway or street.

Therefore, the only just tax is one that will tax each payer according to the value of the land held by him.

The cultivation of land or the erection of buildings are matters that pertain to the individuals who own land, and as long as their use of it does not injure others or threaten their equal rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, the government has nothing to do with them or their land. Accordingly, as the proportion that each taxpayer should pay for the services of government is found in the value of the land facing on the street or roadway, each taxpayer should pay his proportion of the total cost of the services of government based on the proportion that the value of his land bears to the total values of land held in the community to be taxed, and irrespective of whatever use he may make of it.

Therefore the single tax is a just tax.

WM. J. OGDEN.

Baltimore, Md.

#### THE COLLECTION OF THE SINGLE TAX.

THE STANDARD of last week contained an article in reply to a letter from Mr. H. L. McClees, which needs some correction. It was there stated that, under the single tax system, not only would land be sold for taxes, but that all other property of the land holder would be sold, if necessary, to collect the tax. This is not so. If the land could not be sold for enough to pay the tax, that would be conclusive proof that the tax exceeded the annual value of the land, and if other property were sold to pay the tax, the single tax would be replaced by a double tax.

Under the single tax nothing but the bare land would be sold for taxes. If no one would bid more than one cent per acre, that is all which the state could collect for that year. No doubt the state would bid in the land itself long before it fell to such a price. Then it would turn out the occupant who had refused to pay the tax, but it would not proceed any further against him.

But this answers fully the inquiry of Mr. McClees. He wants to know how the system would open land to poor men. He claims that an enormous quantity of land would be thrown upon the market at tax sales, and that there would soon be no bidders. If he is right, why should not poor men get all the land which they could use, at one cent per acre? In point of fact, they would get all the land which they wanted at the lowest possible rent—that is, as low as rent could fall, without tempting other poor men to bid higher. They would not actually get it for a cent; but they would get it easily at a rent which would leave them a comfortable living off the land. All land which could not be sold at any price would be taken by the state, and leased as soon as possible to any one who would pay any rent for it, no matter how small. There would be no private owners of absolutely vacant land, because no one would be allowed to exercise control over any land without paying some tax upon it.

All this would be substantially true, whether the single tax were limited or unlimited. For, under the single tax limited to the strict needs of government, the irresistible tendency of taxation to increase would continually press it towards the limit of economic rent; and

this would absorb so nearly all of the future increment of land values as to leave no inducement to any one to hold land absolutely vacant. The landholder must put it to some use, or he could not afford to pay any taxes upon it; and if he could not use it himself or get any one to pay him rent for its use, he would let it drop into the hands of the state. Of course, under the single tax unlimited, the very idea of any one's holding land out of use is absurdly impossible. Land which was not in use, up to the full extent of its productive power, would instantly fall into the hands of the state.

It is said, in answer to this, that if taxes could not be collected out of personal property, a man could settle upon land, use it to profit, realizing these profits in personal property, and then refuse to pay for the privilege which he had enjoyed. Thus one could settle upon farm land, raise a crop, sell it and quit the land without paying any tax.

This argument overlooks the fact that taxes always are and must be collected in advance, unless the government is run upon borrowed money. The tax levy of 1889 was made for the purpose of providing for the expenses of 1890, and so the taxes of 1890 will be proportioned to the wants of 1891. Under the single tax system government loans must come to an end, for otherwise the system will soon be undermined. The tax will be levied and collected strictly in advance. No one would be allowed to remain on any tract of land long enough to gather crops without paying the tax on that land.

Suppose, however, that the law is imperfectly executed, and that some men are allowed to remain for one or two years, before they are actually ejected for nonpayment of taxes. There is no objection to making the tax a lien upon the improvements, if the owner does not himself, within twelve or fifteen months after the tax falls due, either pay it or notify the proper officer to sell the land for taxes. In this way the tax could be collected as effectually as any real estate tax is now; for, practically speaking, no tax on real estate is ever enforced against the personal property of the landowner. The state sells the land and improvements, and does not follow the matter further. There is no more fear of combinations of taxpayers under the new system than there is now. And taxes are allowed to run for five or ten years, under the present system. This, however, ought not to be permitted, under the single tax.

The importance of these distinctions may not at first be perceived. But reflection will show that the single tax would soon pass out of existence, if anything but the bare land could be sold for taxes. Under the pressure of some urgent need of money, or through the mistakes of assessors, some tracts would certainly be assessed at more than their mere land values and taxed for more than the whole ground rent. Appeals to the courts would be a doubtful remedy. On conflicting evidence, the courts might fail to do justice; or they might be blocked with cases. There must be a prompt and certain remedy. This is to be found in securing to every landholder the right to insist that his land shall be sold forthwith for taxes, and that the purchaser shall be required to pay to him the appraised value of improvements. If the land will not sell, under these conditions, for enough to pay the tax, that is sufficient proof that the assessment was excessive. Indeed, in what other way can the value of the land be always ascertained with certainty? Reasonable estimates, no doubt, can be made, which will in most cases be so nearly correct that substantial justice would be done. But still, in cases so numerous that they cannot be disregarded, the estimates of assessors would be mere guess-work. If such cases are left without remedy, the whole foundation of the single tax would soon be undermined. The system will not be endangered by taxing men for less than the annual value of their land; but it would be gradually destroyed by taxing any appreciable number for any more than this.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

#### ODD-LOOKING ENGLISH.

"Sound-English" is the title of a curious little pamphlet written by Augustin Knoflach. Mr. Knoflach believes that the only thing that prevents the English language from becoming the universal tongue is the anomalies of its spelling. These he traces to the fact that only part of the sounds that go to the making of words are represented by the characters of the alphabet. He affirms that an alphabet that should represent all these sounds must have thirty-three letters instead of twenty-six, and suggests such an alphabet, the missing characters being supplied by modifications of the present characters.

The author of this pamphlet probably knows that something of the kind that he suggests has been embodied in the text books used in many primary schools. The writer of this review has himself taught many young children to read without first teaching them the alphabet in common use. The little ones easily learned to spell by sound and gradually to recognize words of four or five letters without having learned the ordinary names of such letters. The child thus taught is not puzzled by the fact that three-fourths of the letters used in the formation of words are called by names that do not in the least resemble the sounds that such letters have in any word of the language.

This method of teaching young children to read is undoubtedly easier and pleasanter for both child and instructor than the old method, but it must be said, on the other hand, that it would be exceedingly difficult to induce the mass of English-speaking adults to acquaint themselves with even the simple modification of sound English used in some of the primary schools. Mr. Knoflach's sample page of Macaulay, printed in "sound English," looks like a passage in a foreign language, and it would be a difficult thing to reconcile English-speaking people to the idea of having their mother tongue thus transformed, no matter what the promised advantages.

Sound English. A Language for the World. By Augustin Knoflach, author of "German Simplified," "Spanish Simplified," etc. Sold for the author by G. E. Stechert, New York, 528 Broadway.

#### OUR WASHINGTON LETTER.

THE NEW TARIFF BILL.—"A TARIFF FOR PROTECTION WITH INCIDENTAL REVENUE"—FREE TRADE WITH CANADA—REPRESENTATIVE HITT'S RESOLUTION AND MAJOR MCKINLEY'S BILL IN FAVOR OF IT—THE PROSPECT OF BREAKING DOWN THE TARIFF WALL NORTH OF US—FRESH SIGNS OF TROUBLE IN THE SENATE.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 24.—The blunder of Representative McKenna of the ways and means committee in giving out the incomplete tariff bill instead of showing only the proposed sugar schedule to the California sugar men has brought a wild storm about the heads of William McKinley and his colleagues. Many long and exhaustive conferences have been had with agents of special interests and several important changes are reported to have been made. It is admitted that the proposals have awakened a hostility that was wholly unexpected, and is, to say the least, very embarrassing. But there is no way out, and the bill, such as it is, will have to be reported. It is thought that it will be brought into full committee sometime toward the close of the week. When it will be reported to the house it is impossible to say.

Democrats on the ways and means committee are reluctant to discuss or make any analysis of the new bill on mere rumor and until an authentic draft shall have been placed before them by the chairman of the committee. However, all accounts concur in several important respects, namely, that the bill increases the weight of tariff taxes; that little respect is paid to New England's demand for free raw materials; that Pennsylvania comes in for large favor, and that the bill goes through the mockery of "protecting" the farmer, who, to use the sententious observation of a southern representative, having advocated protection like a fool and borne his fleeing like a philosopher, is now to have his so-called reward. In fact, it appears that Mr. McKinley has acted upon his well known dictum: "A tariff for protection, with incidental revenue." Where the bars have been let down in one instance they have been put up in perhaps ten others, and the reduction of the revenue, if it shall prove that



there may be any reduction, will be effected by the negative means of prohibition.

The general increase of tariff taxes on agricultural products, while complying with campaign promises, has caused genuine dismay in the liberal party in Canada, and is in direct contravention of the establishment of those untrammelled trade relations between that country and this which a large and important branch of the republican party in congress, headed by Representatives Hitt and Butterworth, both loyal protectionists, has long been striving for. Even now, contemporaneously with the report of the new tariff bill, the committee on foreign affairs has unanimously instructed its chairman, Mr. Hitt, to report to the house the following resolution, somewhat broader in its scope than a resolution passed unanimously by the house of representatives at the close of the last session of the Fiftieth congress:

Whenever it shall be duly certified to the president of the United States that the government of the Dominion of Canada has declared a desire to enter into such commercial arrangements with the United States as will result in the complete removal of all duties upon trade between Canada and the United States, he shall appoint three commissioners to meet those who may be designated to represent the government of Canada to consider the best method of extending the trade relations between Canada and the United States, and to ascertain on what terms greater freedom of intercourse between the two countries can be best secured, and said commissioners shall report to the president, who shall lay the report before congress.

Mr. McKinley cannot plead ignorance of this sentiment in his party, for very early in the session, in the middle of December, Representative Butterworth introduced a bill that was read twice and referred to the ways and means committee, of which Mr. McKinley is chairman. This bill is explicit in its terms and provides for more speedy action than does Mr. Hitt's resolution. It provides that as soon as it shall be certified to the president of the United States by the government of the Dominion of Canada that the latter has authorized the admission of articles of trade and commerce, the growth, produce or manufacture of the United States, free of duty, the president shall make proclamation thereof, and shall likewise proclaim that all articles, the growth, produce or manufacture of the Dominion of Canada, shall be admitted into all the ports of the United States free of duty. The bill establishes absolute free trade relations between the two countries, save that the provisions of the act shall not apply to any product or article subject to an internal revenue tax by us.

Passing over the inconsistency of protectionists working to establish freedom of trade with any foreign country, it is very interesting to note the popularity of the idea both here and north of our line. Mr. Hitt says there is nothing in its way here save some protected interests, that never fail to predict the speedy disruption of the Union whenever there is talk of tariff reduction. But their influence is more than counterbalanced by New York and New England manufacturers who consider Canada part of their natural market. The real difficulty, he says, lies with Canada. The tory government, influenced by a small and highly protected clique of manufacturers, and by the Canadian Pacific railroad, stands out stubbornly against a change and alarms the conservative element in the community by bringing the charge that under the cloak of establishing freer trade relations the United States are really trying to annex Canada. The liberals are committed to the free trade policy with us and will establish it when they come to power. Of course, before we can do our part there will have to be an abrogation of all restrictive laws, no matter whether framed by Mr. McKinley in accordance with campaign promises or not.

Then there is that trouble in the senate. It comes on undisputed evidence that Senator Allison has signified in express terms his dissatisfaction with the new tariff bill, and has put his finger on a number of places where there will have to be very material reductions. He is reported to have said to some of his republican colleagues that the McKinley bill ought to be "amended to death before it is passed." In fact, while the bill was still in preparation, the senator, in an interview published in a good republican organ, the Philadelphia Press, said:

I should say that in many respects the bill of 1888 should be followed, but in a great many others the conditions have changed since that time, so that reductions which were made then would probably not be deemed sufficient reductions for the present moment. A good many things can bear a much larger reduction than was proposed in 1888, and many reductions can be made where none were made in 1888.

This change of base on the part of Senator Allison simply shows that he has been more quick than his republican colleagues to see

the black cloud gathering in the west and northwest. But even they now see it and are alarmed at its import. At a full conference of the republican senators early in the week, the rebellious attitude of the western farmers toward a high protective tariff bill and the bold demands of the Farmers' alliance, whose strength exacts respect, were earnestly discussed. The testimony of the western senators, it is said, was not reassuring, and there was a good deal of doubt and apprehension as to how to meet the difficulties in the fall elections. It must have seemed like piling it on for Senator Voorhees to rise just at this juncture and deliver one of those tremendous philippics for which he has long been noted. Taking the protective tariff and the deep and widespread agricultural distress as a text, he fell upon his political adversaries in terrific fashion.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

Mt. Wilson, Md.—Suppose the single tax in force. Mr. Smith dies leaving a farm and \$5,000 in money. His son James takes the farm and his son William the \$5,000, this being considered an equal distribution. William goes to the city, and having no taxes to pay increases his \$5,000 to \$100,000. James stays at home and works the farm, by the strictest economy supporting a government for the benefit of William as well as himself, and for which William pays nothing. James's house becomes dilapidated and he selects a rocky piece of ground to build a new one on. When he is about to build, William, with whom he is not on the best of terms, goes to the government and says: "James Smith has a piece of ground he is paying but \$1.00 an acre for in taxes. I want it and will pay \$2.00 per acre for it." The government accordingly notifies James he must pay \$2.00 or let his brother have it. It is impossible for James to pay this amount, so William gets the land and James is turned out. Where does the justice of such a plan come in?

Do you suppose you would ever induce a farmer to add to the beauty of his place, or improve it in any way, when you get the single tax? A railroad may pass through a farm any day, bringing with it a lot of rich men who want country residences and do not mind paying more tax than the farmers.

JAMES B. COUNCILMAN.

You assume that James pays taxes. How can we know that he pays taxes unless you tell us whether his land, irrespective of improvements, is worth anything?

If land were taxed to its full value, as you assume, the land of that farm would have no selling value; and if the division between the two sons were fair, as you assume, the improvements must have been worth \$5,000. Then what hardship would it be upon James, or what inequality would there be between him and his brother, if he paid annually in taxes the value of the land on which the farm was? Each would have \$5,000 free of taxes. If he paid no taxes he would have an advantage over William, since while William got only \$5,000, James would get \$5,000 besides the value of the land.

You also assume that James makes a fortune in the city. How? By his own honest labor? Why should he be taxed for that? By speculation? How could he make a fortune by speculation when the basis of all industrial speculation was destroyed by the abolition of speculation in land values?

You misapprehend the practical operation of the single tax. And the reason you do is because you try to imagine an entirely new system of taxation instead of considering a very simple modification of the present system. Taxes are now levied on land values and other things. We propose to abolish so much of present taxation as falls upon other things, leaving so much as falls upon land values to rise to meet the deficiency.

Under the present system, if William wanted James's farm, he would not go to the government and say: "James Smith has a farm on which he is paying only a dollar a year taxes, and I am willing to pay two dollars a year, and therefore I want the farm." He would go to James and say: "How much will you take for your farm?" If they came to terms, he would buy the farm; if they failed to agree he could not buy it. While this transaction was taking place between James and William, similar transactions as to farms and other things would be taking place there and thereabout between other persons, and as a result of all these transactions people would come to know about how much land, and farm improvements, and other things were worth; and when the assessor made his rounds he would say to James: "You own so much land which is worth so much, and so much farm improvements which are worth so much, and so much personal property which is worth so much; and upon all these values you must pay the same rate of taxes that other people pay."

That is the way it is now, and it is the way it would be under the single tax.

If, under the single tax, William wanted to drive James off the land, whether for profit

or spite, he could not go to the government and propose to pay a higher tax. All land, except the poorest in use, would have a value which would be known in the community. If the tax were the whole rent it would not have a selling value, but it would have a rental value. And whether it had a selling value or not, if William wanted it he would have to deal with James and not with the government. Let us suppose for an extreme case, that the tax was the full rental value of the land. Then, if William wanted the land, some such conversation as this would take place:

"James, I wish you would let me occupy that land; you are not needing it and I am willing to pay the tax."

"No, I am needing it. I am about to build a home there."

"Well," replies William, who doesn't want the land at all, but wants to drive James off from it, "I will give you \$20 an acre (that is about the capitalization of \$1.00 a year, which according to your illustration William is willing to pay over and above the taxes) if you will sell your right to the land to me."

James could accept the offer or not, as he pleased, but whether he accepted or refused, it would not affect the tax. One swallow does not make a summer, and one sale does not make a land value; much less does one rejected offer. But suppose William makes the offer, not to gratify a spiteful feeling but because the land is really worth that much more than the tax, and suppose that James at any time he wants to take it can get \$20 an acre from William or any one else who has the money, then, when the assessor made his rounds, he would say:

"James, this land has doubled in value. I have been appraising it at \$20 an acre, and the tax rate of five per cent has made your tax a dollar an acre a year. But you can easily get \$20 an acre over and above the tax, and that means that the land is worth \$40 an acre. I shall have to assess it at \$40."

"But," James would say, "I haven't taken any of the offers I have had."

"That makes no difference," the assessor would reply. "This land is worth double what it was and you must pay double the tax."

"But I want to build a house on it."

"Very well, build your house, and you will not be taxed for that; but you must pay for your land what it is worth in the market."

What would be unfair about that?

Do we suppose the single tax would induce the farmer to add to the beauty of his place? Do you suppose exemption from taxation would not induce him to add to its beauty? We say to the farmer: "Improve, beautify all you can. You shall not be taxed for it. No matter how much your farm increases in value, your tax shall not increase one penny unless the value of the mere land of your farm increases, and that cannot be said to increase unless the value of land all around you increases. No man will pay \$2 for the land of your farm so long as he can get just as good unimproved land for \$1; if, when he can get just as good unimproved land for \$1, he offers you \$2, the extra amount is not for the land of your farm, but for the improvements, and is not subject to taxation."

You have assumed, as is often done, that under the single tax farmers would pay taxes and rich city men would be exempt. The truth is that many a prosperous farmer would be exempt while no city man would wholly escape, because no city land is wholly without value while there is a great deal of farming land of good quality and fairly well situated which, if land speculation were abolished, as it would be by the single tax, would have no value as mere land, and therefore would not be subject to taxation.

Dr. Walter Mendelson read before the fourteenth annual meeting of the New York committee for the prevention of the state regulation of vice, a paper opposing the licensing of prostitution. He opposed it on the ground that the state should not sanction immorality. At the same time he opposed state prohibition on the ground that it is not the business of the state to make men either virtuous or wise, or fools from the results of folly, but to protect all in their natural rights. He declared protectionism, in all its phases, pernicious.

With the approach of Easter stationers' windows are again gay with the Easter cards of Louis Prang of Boston. This year the cards are re-enforced by charming little books of verse beautified with dainty illustrations.

The board of trade of Portland, Ore., has unanimously resolved that a necessary part of the tax reform of that state should include the exemption of each taxpayer from taxation of personal property, including

buildings and improvements, to the amount of \$2,000.

\* \* \*

John Burns writes from Wilmington, Del., to say that nine workmen out of ten ascribe low wages and scarcity of work to immigration. He admits that under present conditions immigration does make these things more acute, but affirms that they will come about of themselves in time without immigration if the present system of land holding shall continue. He sees the cause of immigration in the land system of Europe aggravated by the burden of standing armies. If this onerous taxation were relieved and land were free in Europe immigration would cease and many Europeans now here would return. In all this Mr. Burns is right. The country of large area that first tries the single tax in its fullness will attract immigrants and will be richer for every man that settles on its soil.

\* \* \*

The Real Estate Record and Guide, after reading the daily newspapers a lecture upon what it calls their stupidity in assuming that a higher real estate assessment in this city means large tax bills, says:

Moreover, there is every reason to believe that the increase of \$68,000,000 in the value of New York real estate is entirely justified by conditions of the real estate market. The year 1889 has been the greatest in our history in the magnitude of its real estate and building operations. Plans were filed for new buildings aggregating \$68,792,931 in amount, which in itself is on the surface sufficient to account for the \$68,444,194 increased assessed valuation.

It is true that the increase of \$68,000,000 upon real estate is not unfair, but it should fall, not upon buildings, but upon land. If the Real Estate Record and Guide will take the trouble to look into this matter it will doubtless learn that the greater part of the increased assessment falls upon new buildings and the lands upon which they have been erected, while neighboring vacant land, which is made more valuable by every brick that is laid, almost escapes additional burdens.

\* \* \*

"J. R." writes to THE STANDARD to express the belief that Professor Sumner of Yale knows little of the changes in the condition of workingmen since 1871 and 1872. In those days Professor Sumner was preaching social conservatism from the pulpit of a church in Morristown, N. J. Then, however, says "J. R.," workingmen easily earned \$2.50 a day where they now earn \$1. Professor Sumner continues to preach conservatism, not from the pulpit to a mixed congregation, but from his chair in the faculty of Yale to young men, many of whom are to inherit wealth, and all of whom he hopes to see bulwarks of the present social order. "J. R." is probably right about Professor Sumner. The professor sees the fallacy of protection and manfully assails it, but he is an individualist of the old type, and individualism into which the life of the single tax has not been breathed is but a dead body, well nigh useless for any good purpose.

\* \* \*

John Alexander Logan, a grandson of the late Senator Logan, was born February 12 last. On the request of one Colonel Gibbons this six weeks' old infant has been commissioned by Governor Campbell of Ohio a first lieutenant in the Logan rifles, a militia company. It would seem, being the grandson of his grandfather, that John Alexander III must be something great; hence the commission.

\* \* \*

The Fergus Falls, Minn., Journal is giving considerable space to the single tax.

\* \* \*

Arthur Balfour, chief secretary for Ireland, has introduced into the British house of commons the tory land purchase bill. He assumed that all parties agreed that the number of occupying land owners in Ireland must be increased. The bill amalgamates the various land commissions, land courts and the like into one body. Mr. Balfour declared that the bill ought not to be compulsory, but in the next breath added that compulsion should be used "most sparingly, but when justified by necessity should be applied." If landlords were compelled, tenants must be compelled to buy. The tenant would be put in possession clear of debt to the landlord, and would pay annually four per cent of the amount advanced by the government. For the first five years he must pay eighty per cent of the annual rental value, and of this sum, the government would retain as tenant's insurance fund to meet seasons of distress, about fifteen per cent. The purchase would be complete in a year. The total advance guaranteed would be about £33,000,000.

THEY TALKED SO OF ABOLITION. Judge Smith in Indianapolis News. The baby is not born that will see free trade in the United States.



## THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

## HUXLEY AND THE COOK.

"A Workingman's Reply to Professor Huxley," is the title of an article by J. D. Christie, pastry cook, in the Nineteenth Century for March. Mr. Christie's article is a reply to Professor Huxley's recent endeavor to disprove the existence of natural human rights. Mr. Christie says that millions of workingmen see much hope in the theory of the single tax, and inquires, "What but the want of some such safety-valve brought about the French revolution, with its Robespierre, Marat and reign of terror?"

He wonders how Professor Huxley and the duke of Argyll, living on twenty shillings a week, would accept some of the professor's own cold-blooded arguments. The pastry cook cites a passage from Huxley and wittily says, "May I never make another jam puff or sausage roll if I would not give a day's wage to see the swells as they listened to such an extract."

He reminds Professor Huxley of the fate of the man who recommended his starving fellow Parisians to eat grass, and asks the biologists to remember that he is speaking of his fellow men. He affirms that if Professor Huxley were as hard pushed for a living as most laboring men, he would probably have less time to nurse scientific theories, and adds aptly that workingmen have to do their thinking during "overtime."

Mr. Christie paraphrases Huxley's story of the tigress with a passage in which the capitalist stands for the tigress and the laborer for the victim, and concludes from Professor Huxley's argument, based on the rights of tigers, that men have a right to eat one another. This leads the pastry cook back to his kitchen, and suggests a bill of fare in which the human parts appear under various French names, made familiar by the menu of the table d'hôte.

Mr. Christie shows the stupidity of Professor Huxley's apple, all of which is the property of each of two boys, and therefore no portion of which can be consumed by either. Land is not a perishable thing, says Mr. Christie, and may be used, under proper restrictions, by the few without violation of the community's rights.

Mr. Christie supposes a piece of flint with which various men each kill a single pigeon. The flint is used by all, but the pigeon in each case belongs to him that brings it down. Should one man seize the flint and demand of all who used it part of the pigeons killed, he would assume the exact relation of the landlord to the producer. Mr. Christie closes with the expression of the opinion that Huxley in politics is out of his element.

## LORD BRAMWELL ON PROPERTY.

The Nineteenth Century admits to its March issue an article entitled "Property," by Lord Bramwell, a venerable ex-lord of appeal, who was ennobled in 1882. Although Lord Bramwell's article is designed as a contribution to such discussions as usually obtain respectful attention in the "Social Problems" department of THE STANDARD, we shall dismiss it with this brief reference, because neither the matter nor the manner of Lord Bramwell deserve to be dignified with more extended notice. His lordship's style is that of a school boy, and this taken with his extreme age suggests the suspicion that the old nobleman has reached second childhood. It is difficult to understand how even the powerful incentive of a peer's signature could have induced the Nineteenth Century to publish such an article.

## DE LAVELEYE ON COMMUNISM.

Professor Emile de Laveleye has the star article in the Contemporary Review for March. His subject is "Communism," and he has treated it in a way to excite the deepest interest of all who study social science.

Professor de Laveleye finds that each century since the Renaissance has been characterized in the main by one powerful impulse. In the sixteenth century religious reform was uppermost in men's minds; in the seventeenth, moral philosophy engaged their thoughts; in the eighteenth, politics and natural political rights were the absorbing topics, and in the nineteenth, political economy and the amelioration of the lot of the greater number were the questions of great importance. Inequalities of conditions among men have been vainly combatted for ages, and he thinks with increasing success, but in the present century the absolute necessity for solving this problem is more than ever apparent. The masses have become free, gained political power and to some extent studied political economy. These facts endow the the problem of inequality with an importance that it never before attained. Between the blind terror of conservatism and the foolish freeness of the new radicalism we are

alternately threatened with despotism and anarchy.

Communism seriously proposes a remedy for inequality. It is specially attractive to reformers because it appeals to their sympathy, to workers because of their necessities. The facts at the base of communism, which account for its persistence, are a resentment of inequality and a faith in the principle of universal brotherhood. Communism is adopted without reflection and without knowledge, for it necessitates neither. The difficulties in the way of economic reform it simply ignores.

Here Professor de Laveleye graphically describes the rhapsodical enthusiasm of the true communist, and then declares that to accept the conclusions of such dreamers would be to yield to mere imagination and sentiment, to crush liberty, violate equality and impose fraternity. This is his attitude throughout the article.

He then defines communism as a condition under which the individual works for the profit of the state, to which he hands over the produce of his labor for equal division among all, so that all shall receive the same amount of wages, or rather remuneration, corresponding to their requirements. The system is summed up in this maxim: "From each according to his strength; to each according to his needs." He explains that collectivism is a different matter, since it contemplates industrial co-operation under hierarchical rule, but the payment of each in proportion to his labor. Such a system is difficult but not impossible, since it does not ignore the incentive of individual interest. The working of mines and railways by the state strikes him as not evil in principle.

The professor thinks the errors of communism spring from two principles, just in themselves, but misunderstood or misapplied, fraternity and equality. There are two sorts of communism, one based on the former, the other on the latter. Professor de Laveleye, in considering the communism of fraternity, declares that all human passions may be traced to two motives—love of self and love of others, or selfishness and sociability. The latter has also been called altruism and fraternity. Liebnitz's definition, "To love is to delight in the happiness of another," de Laveleye regards as the best definition of love. It is a form of altruism. Now communism disregards one of Professor de Laveleye's two master passions of humanity. It accepts altruism and neglects selfishness. It recognizes no individual interests and knows nothing of rights, only duties. Duty is limited only by capacity—"from each according to his power." Love will take the place of justice; gratitude will lie in the pleasure of giving, not in the acknowledgment of gifts. All control from without will end, and government will be based upon the persuasion and voluntary consent of hearts.

Professor de Laveleye notes that the things that gratify the tastes of the mind—pictures, music, books, scenery—may be enjoyed in common; that things that minister only to bodily appetites can be enjoyed by only one person at a time. The more, then, that men lead sensual lives the less capable are they to live in a communistic state. All the great communists have realized this, and endeavored to awaken in men a taste for spiritual things. Monastic communities acted on this principle; but to attain their ends the main-spring of human organization was so strained that it sometimes snapped. Fraternal communism was conceived by men of genius in their disgust at the vices of society, and out of an absorbing and ardent love of justice. Its chief characteristic is spirituality, its principle of organization is authority, its object fraternity.

Turning to the communism that would establish universal equality, Professor de Laveleye assents to the ancient opinion that no democracy can exist permanently if its people are in a state of marked material inequality. Voters who get from their labor a scanty living, while others about them are rich, will probably in the end seek to alter laws that sanction such inequality. The rich will support the laws, and if necessary call in the aid of a dictator. So democracy terminates in either anarchy or despotism, and usually in one as the result of the other. Under such conditions inequality is the cause of its downfall. The social problem involved in this phenomena troubles all nations.

Professor de Laveleye then traces the development of this problem. He shows how men's minds were freed by the reformation; how England shook off the Stuarts and proclaimed popular sovereignty; how democracies were founded in America; how the eighteenth century erected popular rights into a political philosophy; how men came to recognize their own rights and the rights of others. But when all this has been accomplished, the mass of men are still so busied with manual labor that they lack the means

of that self-culture which it was supposed liberty would make possible. They are not in the enjoyment of their primitive rights. "They are not free, for they have nothing on which they can employ their vital energy; others hold the land and capital, and themselves, non-workers, exact from the workers payment for the right of retaining a portion of the bread they earn by their labor." Private property is essential to liberty, and therefore to the development of human destiny. But how can private property be assured to all, it being itself an exclusive appropriation? Here is the incongruity between the right to live by labor and the right to private property, which seems to offer an invincible obstacle to the exercise of the former right.

Having stated the problem thus, Professor de Laveleye goes on to elaborate it. A man is born, and this fact confers upon him the right to procure himself food; otherwise society must take it upon itself to feed him or let him starve. But everything is already appropriated. What is to be done? Do you deny him the right to live? You enjoy that right and all you possess by no better title than his, the birthright of a man. To deny his similar right would be to transgress the law. If you dispute his right the very conception of rights, resulting from the earliest notions of individuality, fades away, and naught remains but chance and strength. If you arrive at this point you must remember that though the facts are with you to-day they may be against you to-morrow, for those whose rights you would deny are in the majority. You appeal to strength, but who say strength say numbers, and it is obvious on which side these belong.

Human progress seems arrested here, and how shall the obstacle be overcome? How insure to every man education, property and even work without attacking the privileges of those already enjoying these things? Which of the two ideas, equality or exclusive possession, will gain the victory? What is civilization if it does not enable the greater number to enjoy their rights and have a share in the general well being? In the last century the majority of those who sought to answer these questions were materialists. They denied the existence of evil instincts in man, and proclaimed the righteousness of all the passions. Then why resist any passion or instinct? Since this is right for all, they argued, all must enjoy equally, for enjoyment is our destiny. The way to this lay through equality of possessions. These materialistic communists, instead of seeking to realize equality of rights, endeavored to institute absolute equality of possession. Man was no longer a free agent with rights and responsibilities, but a simple unit to be placed in a line with other units, so that none may exceed the uniform level.

The materialists were ready to appeal to despotism to bring about this equality. All pleasures must be in common. "Individual possession, a necessary condition of all labor, and individual responsibility, an essential condition of all morality, must therefore both be abolished." Woman is the source of greatest joy, therefore wives must be in common. Nature differentiates men by differing physical and mental qualities, but the development of these differences must according to the materialistic socialists be arrested. Let all culture be prohibited and squeeze all infant heads into the same mold so as to develop similar bumps. Freedom of thought is an enemy of equality. The law must nip in the bud every development of such inequality. This was the doctrine set forth by Sylvain Marechal in his "Manifestes des Egaux," in 1793. Absolute and necessary despotism is the outcome of such a system. It is totally at war with the theory of primitive communists. It is in the main the idea of the communists of the last and the present centuries.

The concluding part of Professor de Laveleye's article is devoted to an inquiry as to whether communism of equality is suitable to men as now constituted. He quotes with respectful dissent Mills's assertion that communism with all its restraints is better than our present social condition. This is the communism of Mr. Bellamy's dream. From each according to his strength; and the state must decide what that strength is. "What is the difference between this and the galleys?" To each, according to his wants; and the state, not the individual, must limit these wants. Man can only draw his sustenance from the earth by labor. Want is the incentive that overcomes man's natural distaste for labor, and the satisfaction of want is the reward of labor. There must be a more or less direct connection between labor and its reward. Religious communities have induced men to labor by promises of a reward in heaven, but such an incentive would hardly act upon the

mass of modern men. The incentive of personal interest is the necessary stimulant. Justice demands that the worker get the full enjoyment of his produce. Equality demands for all free scope for their energies. An artificial fraternity will breed hatred. If the rights of each are guaranteed the feeling of fraternity will develop beyond the region of material interests. If every man were free to produce for himself, and the tax of idleness were abolished, a spirit of fruitful emulation would inspire all workers, and the welfare of one would not spring from the poverty of another. But communism would destroy responsibility and sacrifice either justice or liberty.

"The fundamental principle of social economy should be: 'To each worker his produce, his entire produce, and nothing but his produce.' The great problem of social organization is to realize this formula of justice. If this were once applied, pauperism and divitism, misery and idleness, vice and spoliation, pride and servitude would disappear as if by magic from our midst."

Communism is the dominancy of the weak by the strong, of the active and industrious by the greedy and self-indulgent. It could be maintained only by the penal code. Do away with individual responsibility and society becomes one vast wheel, kept in motion by force.

Professor de Laveleye then discusses briefly the possibility of inducing men to labor without the incentive of self-interest, and declares that nothing but a fervent religious feeling can effect such a result. He restates the problem of reconciling common rights with private property, and says that communism has not attempted a solution; that modern communism is less advanced than ancient communism; Bellamy less plausible than Sir Thomas More. It is utterly unsuited to man as he is, and it would inevitably break down under trial. The sole advantage to be gained by studying it is that such study shows the defects of our social organization and stirs enthusiasm for reform. The future is not communism, for the system of property is strengthening. He believes that the institution will gradually take new shape. Property is becoming more accessible, and a time will probably come when all will share in it. It is becoming more and more a reward of labor, and in time we shall realize the maxim: "To each the produce and nothing but the produce of his labor."

## WHEN A SMOKIN' CAR IS 'TACHED.

From the Century Magazine for March.

Sometimes when I'm on the way  
Into town, on market day,  
'T hurts like sixty fer to see  
Folks 'at's better dressed than me  
Scrouge up tighter when I sit  
Down beside 'em—'s if I bit;  
But my heart don't git so scratched  
When a smokin' car is 'tached.

When a smokin' car is 'tached  
Then's the time yer comfort's catched,  
When you give yer pipe a poke  
And lay back and watch the smoke  
Till it makes yer old eyes itch,  
While you're dreamin' you was rich,  
Folks don't see yer coat is patched  
When a smokin' car is 'tached.

When a smokin' car is 'tached,  
Then's the time yer dreams are snatched,  
Then you're rid of Jen's old marm,  
Then the mortgage's off the farm,  
Then the old peach orchard pays—  
I wun't I could spend whole days  
Countin' chickens fore they're hatched,  
When the smokin' car is 'tached.

S. WALTER NORRIS.

## REPLY BY A SINGLE TAX FRIEND.

"When the smokin' car is 'tached"—  
That's the time yer thoughts are matched  
To the rumble of the cars!  
Them's the thoughts that never dare  
Jump the track which waz laid there  
By the politicians' care.  
That's how freedom's door is latched  
When the smokin' car is 'tached.

Now, when the smokin' car is 'tached  
Don't let yer thinkin' cap be snatched.  
Think why ye're tired o' Jen's old marm,  
An' why the mortgage's on the farm,  
An' why ye can't plant new peach trees,  
An' fix th' old place nice's ye please;  
Think why yer comfort's only catched  
When the smokin' car is 'tached.

An' while ye're ridin' inter town,  
Neighbor, jes' take a look aroun'.  
There's miles o' acres layin' bare  
Just like Marm Natur left them there;  
And here's town lots some feller wiso  
Is holdin' for a futur' rise.  
Ye'll see this earth is skursely scratched  
From the smokin' car that's 'tached.

An' in the smokin' car that's 'tached  
Don't count no chickens fore they're hatched  
But figger on the taxes due  
An' what proportion falls on you,  
An' why ye pay a bigger rate  
Than th' land grabbin' syndicate.  
An' think out why your coat is patched—  
"When the smokin' car is 'tached!"



## BALLOT REFORM.

## THE ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF BALLOT REFORM.

First—All ballots shall be official and shall be printed and distributed at public expense.

Second—The names of all candidates for the same office shall be printed on the same ballot.

Third—All ballots shall be delivered to the voter within the polling place on election day by sworn public officials.

Fourth—Only official ballots so delivered shall be voted. The voter shall be guaranteed absolute privacy in preparing his ballot, and the secrecy of the ballot made compulsory.

Fifth—Voters shall have the right to nominate candidates by properly certified petitions.

## AWAITING THE VETO.

## THE SAXTON BILL REPASSED BY THE SENATE—TAMMANY AFRAID TO CONDEMN SOHMER.

The Saxton bill has again passed the senate, that body having assented to the amendments of the house and made no new ones. The bill now goes to the governor. The vote in the senate was as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Ahearn, Birkett, Chase, Coggeshall, Deane, Donaldson, Erwin, Fassett, Hendricks, Hunter, O'Connor, Richardson, Robertson, Saxton, Sloan, Stewart, Van Gorder, Vedder—18.

Nays—Messrs. Cantor, Hawkins, Ives, Jacobs, McCarren, Roesch, Stadler—7.

Every republican in the senate chamber voted for the bill, with two democrats, Ahearn of New York and Chase of Albany. Senator Linson refrained from voting, as he did when the bill originally passed, and Senators Brown, Collins, McNaughton (democrats) and Laughlin and Sheard (republicans) were not present.

The corrupt practices bill, as amended in the house, was also passed without debate and forwarded to the governor.

The Steckler association of the Tenth assembly district has obtained 4,822 signatures, said to be voters in the district, to an address commending Senator George F. Roesch for his opposition to the bill, and requesting him to persist in that course. These signatures were obtained by a brutal and shameless pressure brought to bear by the Tammany machine upon liquor dealers, shopkeepers and others. It was at first intended that the address should condemn Mr. Sohmer's advocacy of the bill, but his name does not appear in the matter, and a projected meeting of the Steckler association to adopt resolutions disapproving Mr. Sohmer's course has been postponed and probably abandoned. The reason for this is that it has been discovered that the Germans of the Tenth district are strongly in favor of ballot reform. Mr. Sohmer himself expects to be visited by the vengeance of Tammany, and indeed has been warned that he must expect discipline at the polls if ever he shall run for office again. He is, however, unmoved by this, and he has been encouraged by many expressions of sympathy. The most significant manifestation comes from the Central labor union. On Sunday last that body adopted resolutions declaring that, as the Central labor union some time ago had indorsed the Saxton ballot reform bill as the means of securing honest and fair elections, and as the Tammany hall organization of the Tenth assembly district had condemned Assemblyman Sohmer of that district for his support of the bill, the action of the Tammany organization be condemned, and that Mr. Sohmer's action be indorsed and receive the hearty support of the Central labor union, as it expressed the sentiments of organized labor.

This action, of course, was based upon a misapprehension as to what the Steckler association had done.

## NEW JERSEY'S STRUGGLE.

## SOME UNEASY AS TO THE BILL—THE INDUSTRIAL SENATE HEARD FROM.

Ballot reformers in New Jersey are uneasy as to the fate of the ballot reform bill. After a long discussion last week the joint committee voted a tie on the question of striking out the provision for a distribution of ballots ten days before the election. Assemblyman Kerr, democrat, of Paterson, who had been opposed to such distribution, voted against the proposition to strike out, and his change of front caused alarm and brought about the tie. No conclusion was reached.

The industrial senate, made up of the legislative committees of the Knights of Labor and the Farmers' alliance of New Jersey has adopted resolutions denouncing any bill which may be introduced in the legislature providing for the distribution of the official ballots before the election as not genuine and simply a subterfuge of the machine politician to pose as a genuine ballot reformer and to blind the public; calling upon Governor Abbott to be consistent with his message and exert his influence to secure the passage

of a bill which shall provide for the distribution of the official ballots within the polling place on the day of election, and declaring that the industrial senate holds each and every individual member, republican or democrat, who stands in opposition to the official ballot being distributed only at the polls on the day of election, or who may in any way oppose the passage of the measure, responsible, and that in the event of any such member coming up for re-election the whole power of the organization will be brought to bear to defeat him.

The Metal exchange of this city will hold its annual election on March 31 and all subsequent elections by the Australian system.

Governor Ferry of Washington has signed the Australian ballot bill recently passed by the legislature of that state.

The Australian system of voting was introduced here to-day in the primary election for city officers and gave general satisfaction. It was, perhaps, not just the thing wanted by the practical ticket peddlers and pencil holders. To them the day was not a smiling success. On the contrary it was quite lonesome. But to the average voter it was all that could be desired. There were men who walked up and cast their votes who have heretofore either voted under protest or refused to vote at all.—(Mexico, Mo., Intelligencer.

## PERSONAL.

It is with extreme regret that the members of the Manhattan single tax club learn that Mr. Joseph McDonough, a valuable and esteemed member of that organization, has determined to close up his business in this city and remove to Albany, where he will go in the latter part of April. His business here—book selling—was good, but he has concluded that he cannot afford to pay the rents demanded.

Joseph Dana Miller, secretary of the Hudson county single tax league, was one of the speakers at a great ballot reform meeting held in the Congregational tabernacle, Jersey City, Tuesday evening, March 18. The New York Times says he made one of the best speeches of the evening. This may be considered a great compliment, because among the speakers were Rev. John L. Scudder, ex-Mayor Gilbert Collins, ex-Senator Rabe, Major Pangburn and Rev. J. T. Halloran, pastor of St. Paul's M. E. church.

Last Thursday evening A. J. Steers addressed a prohibition meeting in the Ninth assembly district of this city on "The single tax and its relation to the drink traffic." What he had to say was well received and at the close he was warmly congratulated.

An essay on the single tax, under the heading, "Give Labor a Chance," from the pen of Samuel Quinn of Evansville, Ind., appears in the Prohibition Era of Princeton, Ind.

"Pa" Chase of St. Louis has just passed his seventieth birthday. THE STANDARD hereby offers its congratulations, and hopes he has before him many years of usefulness.

The Chicago Graphic of a late date has an article on the single tax from the pen of Warren Worth Bailey. Speaking of the article editorially, the Graphic says: "Mr. George and his followers are directing attention very forcibly to moral and political issues, and the public mind has been greatly enlightened by their intelligent discussion. Let the winds blow, and let every fabric not founded on a rock fall."

W. L. Sinton of Victoria, Vancouver's island, B. C., reached this city last Monday. He is on his way to Belfast, Ireland, in the hope that he may not be too late to see his father alive. Mr. Sinton is one of the most active single tax men in British America. He says there are many single tax men in Victoria, who are working quietly but effectively. There has been no club organized because it is not good policy just at present.

The Brooklyn Eagle of last Monday contains a letter on the labor question, from the pen of Robert Baker. Labor advocates, especially trade union advocates will find it interesting reading.

A late issue of the Quincy, Ill., Journal of Industry has an article by Judge C. F. Perry on the eight hour movement.

## THE BEAUTIES OF THE PROTECTIVE SYSTEM.

Philadelphia Record.

Protection, if anywhere in the world, has done its perfect work in Pennsylvania. But there is no other state in the union in which there is greater deprivation among laboring men. The accounts of the suffering in the coal regions are heartrending.

## SUBLIMATED GALL.

Boston Globe.

And now the Florida orange growers are asking for a heavy duty on Messina oranges. This equals even the Pennsylvania coal monopolists for sublimated gall, though on a smaller scale.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

## FREE TRADE VS. PROTECTION.

To the Editor of The Standard—SIR: The highwayman takes all you have got. The tariff not only does this but takes all you are likely to get.

One hundred dollars' worth of goods, with fifty per cent ad valorem and all the profits of handlers.

One hundred dollars' worth of goods, no duty and all the handlers' profits.

One hundred dollars' worth of goods, with 150 per cent duty (which some articles pay) and all the profits of handlers.

One hundred dollars' worth of goods, without any duty, with profits of handlers.

DUTY 50 P. C. AD VAL.	WITHOUT DUTY.
Goods.....\$100 00	Goods.....\$100 00
Duty.....50 00	Importer's profit, 10 per cent.....10 00
Importer's profit, 10 per cent.....10 00	Jobber's profit, 10 per cent.....11 00
Jobber's profit, 10 per cent.....11 00	Retailer's profit, 10 per cent.....12 10
Retailer's profit, 10 per cent.....12 10	Excessive cost to consumer.....21 10
\$318 60	\$218 60

DUTY 150 PER CENT.	WITHOUT DUTY.
Goods.....\$100 00	Goods.....\$100 00
Duty.....150 00	Importer's profit, 10 per cent.....10 00
Importer's profit, 10 per cent.....10 00	Jobber's profit, 10 per cent.....11 00
Jobber's profit, 10 per cent.....11 00	Retailer's profit, 10 per cent.....12 10
Retailer's profit, 10 per cent.....12 10	Excessive cost to consumer.....21 10
\$361 60	\$218 60

The above is a good object lesson, and a good one to keep before your readers.

WILLIAM SAUL.

## DIVIDING ELECTORAL VOTES.

To the Editor of The Standard—SIR: Not long ago the suggestion was made in THE STANDARD that it might be well to abolish the electoral college. That could not be done without amending the constitution. But the worst feature of our mode of electing the president—disfranchising the minority in a state—could be removed by changing the law under which electors are elected. Instead of voting for all the electors of his state, a citizen might vote for three—two at large and one from his congressional district. If that had been the law in New York, Harrison would have got the two electors at large, and the other thirty-four electoral votes would have been divided. I don't know just how they would have stood. A plan was once proposed in THE STANDARD for electing the legislature, by which the strength of the parties there would be in proportion to their strength among the people. If that plan had been applied to the electoral college, I believe the vote of New York would have stood: Harrison, 18; Cleveland, 17; Fisk, 1. There is nothing in the constitution requiring all the electoral votes of a state to be cast for the same candidate.

Undine, Mich. GEORGE W. WOOD.

## FARMERS AND THE SINGLE TAX.

To the Editor of The Standard—SIR: Those who have inherited, or by their industry and economy have become the possessors of land, should not be censured because of their disinclination hastily to adopt new and untried systems of taxation. Neither should the land owners, knowing as they do that, under existing tax laws, the unequal burdens borne by working farmers and other improvers of their landed possessions are now greater than they can much longer safely bear, refuse to listen to and wisely consider the single tax.

Even if the single tax reformers are mistaken, a fair trial of their system will not make our condition worse. But if they are right, a fair trial of the single tax will prove it, and our condition will be improved thereby. The farmers need fear nothing. They have a majority of the ballots, and can safely test your system. A majority of the people are fast learning in the dear school of experience that a tariff is a tax on consumption instead of on wealth, and that a tax on buildings and other improvements, and on personal property, is a tax on those four great agencies of progressive civilization—intelligence, industry, economy and production.

Every one who owns, improves, or cultivates land is, or should be, in favor of many reforms that they desire in common with the advocates of the single tax. Would it not be madness, would it not be a crime, for reformers having and holding so many things in common to delay the rapidly advancing column of progress by wrangling over one point of disagreement? "Agreeing to disagree" on untimely issues and non-essential policies, is it not the duty of all true reformers—those who seek the same destination—to travel peacefully together as far as we can? With few exceptions, radical and conservative reformers agree that taxing all to

give to or benefit the few does not increase the nation's wealth; that our citizens engaged in productive industries and commercial enterprises should no longer be compelled to pay taxes on their personal property, while rich hoarders of capital, the possessors of money and government bonds are not taxed at all, and the holders of mortgages and other securities, do not pay taxes on an amount equal to the interest and dividends they annually draw from the purses of those who must pay the balance; that land and money monopoly degrades the landless, robs labor, and taxes production; that in the land of the landlord and landless capital is a merciless tyrant, labor a helpless slave.

Let us have peace and harmony among reformers and there will soon be the beginning of an era of progress in America that shall enlighten the world.

Yours, for the greatest attainable good of all men,  
GEO. C. BECHER,  
28 Trinity Block, Syracuse, N. Y., March 7, 1890.

## MAX O'RELL AND THE CUSTOMS OFFICER.

Milwaukee News.

Said Max O'Rell to a party of newspaper men: "I had a great experience coming over the line from Canada. We were stopped on this side of the river to undergo the usual custom house examination. My trunk bears the name of Max O'Rell stamped upon it in plain legible characters, and I was standing around kicking my heels in impatience in the custom room, when I heard a malignant snort. I turned and beheld a burly official who was inspecting me with a visage that would make vinegar blush with envy."

"Humph," said the fellow, "so you're Max O'Rell, are you?"

"That's what I'm generally called," I replied.

"I believe you wrote a book about America, didn't you?"

"Yes, sir."

"Now, didn't you think you was pretty smart, when you wrote that book?"

"Certainly."

"You thought you was d—d smart?"

"I guess so."

"And so do I," and the fellow threw back the lid of my trunk with a bang. "Did you buy this necktie for your own use?" said he, holding up a flaming scarf.

"Yes, sir."

"And this?" holding up similar articles. Receiving affirmative replies, he would dive down and pull out some other article, until the interior of my trunk looked as though it had passed through a railroad wreck. All the time he kept muttering to himself:

"You thought you was d—d smart. Back again all the same to make more money, etc."

As I had no right to interfere, I had to swallow my chagrin the best I could. At last he completed his work of devastation and shut the trunk with a look of ill-concealed satisfaction. I hated to go leaving my 'with the best of it' and cudgeled my brains for a way to get even."

"At last a brilliant idea struck me."

"You are the custom house official, are you not?" said I.

"I am," replied the man.

"You consider you have done your duty, do you?"

"Yes, sir."

"Fully?"

"Yes, sir."

"You haven't left one place unexplored?"

"No, sir; not I."

"That is good. Say, did you ever hear how the Great Diamond was smuggled into France?"

"Never did, sir."

"Well, I'll tell you. They got a fellow to swallow it and then shoved him through the lines. Now, how would you just like to crawl down my alimentary canal and continue your investigations. Done your duty have you? Fully? Oh, yes. Good by."

MANUFACTURER BENEFITED; HOW ABOUT CONSUMER?

St. Louis Post Dispatch.

The tax on raw sugar will be reduced, but the tax on refined sugar will be increased by the McKinley tariff bill. Thus the sugar trust will have a better margin of profit and the people will have to pay about as much for sugar under it as now.

THEY ARE BEING "RISED."

Providence Telegram.

The New York Sun wants to know: "Are the farmers rising?" Yes, the farmers are rising at four o'clock every morning to feed the cattle and begin the daily struggle for existence under the beneficent protective system that allows them to raise corn for fuel, and that the Sun so admires.

WHY IS THIS THUS?

Boston Transcript.

This has long been one of the reproaches of American protection, that the hen industry, whose product equals in value of output the pig iron industry, goes unprotected.

THE SINGLE TAX PLATFORM, OF COURSE.

Princeton, Ind., Prohibition Era.

What better platform of principles does the farmer and laboring man need than that of the prohibition party.

HOW AWFUL!

Brechin, Scotland, Herald.

Her majesty is said to be greatly annoyed because the queen's speech spoke of the "emperor of Germany" instead of the "German emperor."



## THE FREE TRADE FIGHT.

## NOW IT IS THE LADIES.

MRS. CLARDY CALLS ON HER SISTER WOMEN TO HELP FURTHER FREE TRADE.

Mrs. Mary C. Clardy of San Antonio, Texas, has organized a ladies' free trade league, and issued a call to the women of America to join her in furthering the removal of trade restrictions. Here are some extracts from Mrs. Clardy's circular:

The farmers of our country and the hands in our great manufacturing do not receive, on an average, one-sixth of the wages needed to build good dwellings for themselves, to have good furniture, good food and an abundance of clothing and bedding suitable for warmth and cleanliness, with such books, music, flowers and other pure pleasures as the great Creator designs that all shall enjoy. \* \* \*

Across the Atlantic millions of honest people beg for work. They would like to make our clothing in return for food. Our farmers would gladly exchange with them breadstuffs, meat, cotton and wool. The United States custom house stands between them and prevents trade. The millions of Europe need ten times the meat, breadstuffs, clothing and home comforts they now have. The protective tariff of America is oppressing the working classes of two hemispheres.

Tariff reform is a dose of laudanum given to the voters to lull them, while the manufacturers continue their robberies.

My sisters, no tariff reform will ever give to both Americans and Europeans food and clothing.

With invisible hand it levies exorbitant taxes on nearly every article we use from the cradle to the coffin. The half-starved babes of the poor seamstress must be robbed in the interest of wealthy manufacturers and their allies.

There is but one remedy—free trade. Let the ladies of America form a free trade league and proceed at once to educate our people in the truth, which, expressed at the ballot box, shall set our people free.

Mrs. Clardy advises her fellow women to demand that free trade be taught in the public schools; that juvenile free trade clubs be formed; that a free trade column be secured in local papers; that there be free trade booths at every state and county fair; that congressmen be urged to vote for free trade; that candidates for the legislature be pledged to favor the Australian system of voting.

She announces that the ladies' campaign for free trade was auspiciously opened in San Antonio on March 7.

Mrs. Clardy writes to THE STANDARD saying that she has been too busy urging prohibition for the past fifteen years to do much else, but that now she believes it is a duty to which God has called her to work for free trade. She wishes to write a free trade primer for the women of America. She is now state organizer for the Texas W. C. T. U. Her address during March is the Concho house, San Antonio, Texas.

## SECOND SESSION OF THE TARIFF SCHOOL.

Thomas G. Shearman, who was to have lectured last Friday night before the Reform club's school for the study of the tariff question, was kept away by sickness, and a joint debate was substituted for the lecture. The subject of debate was "The tariff and labor." E. Ellery Anderson and Landley Vinton took the protection side, and John De Witt Warner the free trade side. When the debate was finished James McGregor, in response to an invitation to persons in the audience to make five-minute addresses, talked clearly and effectively on the side of absolute free trade. There were some ladies present who took a marked interest in the discussion. The attendance of ladies is especially desired by the committee in charge.

## CHEAP LABOR IN THIS COUNTRY.

Brinsley Mauley, director of large engineering works in England, writes to the London Spectator to protest against Lord Brassey's assertion that English workmen, by reason of superior energy, accomplish more in a given time than any other workmen in the world. Mr. Mauley says that he sent his general manager to the United States two years ago to study our methods of work, and that the man returned in a state of astonishment at the amount of work done by American workmen. "The amount paid for work," says Mr. Mauley, "was considerably above our prices, but the cost of production was less."

To this the Spectator replies in behalf of Lord Brassey, that "an American is an Englishman under new conditions."

## WOOLEN MANUFACTURERS AROUSED.

There has been formed at Boston a new association of woollen manufacturers, which will oppose the old National association, of which William Whitman is president. The new association will resist the extreme demands of wool growers. About fifty manufacturers responded to the first call, representing every class of woollen manufactures. A. T. Lyman of the Lowell manufacturing company acted as chairman. The organization will demand a reduction of wool duties and their adjustment on a more equal basis. The permanent headquarters will be established probably in this city.

The Boston Commercial Bulletin says: "The original meeting included representatives even from Philadelphia; and if the extreme measures proposed by McKinley are actually

incorporated in a bill, it is likely they will be joined by the carpet manufacturers in a body."

## ANOTHER CRY FOR FREE WOOL.

J. A. Bradley of Allegheny, Pa., the only wool manufacturer in the twin cities of Pittsburgh, declares that nothing will improve the business in which he is engaged, or that of the wool grower, save freeing raw wool. He denounces the new tariff bill as a partisan measure, but is pleased to have forty per cent protection on his goods.

## BOUNTIES FOR BEET SUGAR.

Senator Paddock has reported from the committee on agriculture and forestry a bill to give a bounty of \$1 for every ton of beets raised in the United States delivered to a factory and made into merchantable sugar, and a bounty of \$1 for every 100 pounds of sugar manufactured from beets raised in the United States, the bounty to be paid only during the fiscal years 1891, 1892 and 1893. It also proposes to admit free of duty during the same period all machinery imported for the manufacture of beet sugar.

## HE MEANS PROTECTION.

Grover Cleveland, in reply to an announcement that a mock democratic national convention held by the students of the Ohio state university had nominated him for the presidency, with James E. Campbell for the vice presidency, wrote that there are questions pressing upon the American people the solution of which is vastly more important than the political fortunes of any one man. He said further: "I do hope that the students of the University of Ohio will appreciate this fact and will see their full measure of political duty in laboring to enforce the doctrines of true democracy and in retrieving the people from the delusions which have beset them to their undoing."

## NORTH DAKOTA IS AWAKE.

The Tariff reform league of Buffalo, North Dakota, has issued a circular calling attention to the importance of the tariff question. The circular contains some telling hits, and a strong appeal to farmers. S. W. Bradford, secretary of the league, wrote to THE STANDARD to say that the organization has sent out more than one thousand tracts, furnished by the Reform club of this city. The league is also getting lists of voters all over the state, and, as Mr. Bradford says, will keep pegging away at the tariff question until 1892.

## HARD TIMES IN IOWA.

Charles C. Lichtenberger of Ida Grove, Iowa, writes to THE STANDARD, saying that farmers in his part of Iowa are desperately hard up; that there is much feeling on the tariff question and that both democrats and republicans are angered at Senator Allison's re-election. He declares that he has never seen times so hard. He has not collected his wages for last year and will get none for this year until after harvest.

## A WORKINGMAN'S REASON FOR NOT FIGHTING.

Christian Arbitrator.

The following extracts from a speech delivered many years ago in the town hall, Hull, England, by a workingman named Scholey, appeared in the Arbitrator in 1872. We have several times been urged to republish it, and now comply with the request:

"I feel inclined to give my opinion on the subject of peace, and, as a member of the working classes, I wish to say, I shan't fight. If all workingmen were of my opinion there would soon be an end of war. But, however that may be, I shan't fight, and any man who does fight, who has nothing to fight for, in my opinion is a fool. I have nothing in the world to protect except my share in the national debt, and I don't care if the French come and run away with that. I, like my worthy friend opposite, lived at the time of the last war. It's true workingmen got better wages then than they can get now, but hasn't the present misery arisen from it? I recollect the peace of 1801, and I recollect the rejoicings we had at that time, when the country was one continual bursting of bayonets. You couldn't have a walk without seeing them in all directions. Young men couldn't walk out with their sweethearts. They couldn't go where somebody with a bayonet wouldn't disturb them. It was impossible at that time. Then as for the Sabbath—the day of rest and comfort which the poor man may enjoy along with the rich—you couldn't enter a village, but before you were in sight of it, if you stood for a minute, you would hear—right—left—right—left—eyes right—dress—and so on. This was the occupation of the village at that time, and it wasn't a great village either. It had no matter of population, but it was a beautiful little village, and a stiller, quieter, and more peaceable village you could scarcely find. Well, every man in it was forced to become a volunteer. Strange a thing as it appears, so it was. It's a fact incontrovertible, that a man would have been ousted out of society if he hadn't become a volunteer. No religious scruple was allowed to interfere with a man learning the discipline on a Sunday. \* \* \* So the war went on, and it's true that a flourishing time it was. You couldn't go to a town where you wouldn't find banners flying, and drums beating, and trumpets sounding, and all the inhabitants, from young to old, up in arms. A rare time for our trade it was then. But what was the consequence? Is not our present misery, our present wretchedness, the consequence? And the people in the country were demoralized; for the army wasn't a school from which young men came back better than they went. If a young man went and joined the army, and stopped but a very short time, he very likely came back

with a wooden leg, and only wanted one shoe; but besides this, and worse than this, he had learned to swear a round hand. They had learned to make use of expressions which made the people of the village shudder to hear them. Many of these expressions are now common, such as "bloody" this, and "bloody" that, and many other expressions which I shouldn't like to mention, but which we are constantly in the habit of hearing. But they wasn't known in that peaceful district before the war. These things, however, constituted the principal part of the soldier at that time. I was quite young and nearly all my playmates—all who were boys at the same time I was a boy myself—nearly all went to be soldiers, and some, as I said before, came back with a wooden leg, and some had lost their heads, and stopped to bear them company. Be it as it would, they almost all went, and frequently I have known fine young men of fifteen and sixteen, aye, and some of twelve and thirteen, for they would take them as low as that then. I have known that, three or four months after they had enlisted, we had a letter, perhaps from Spain, that they were shot; and then what work there was with mothers and sisters weeping. There was all this trouble then; but paying parts in our time. Now, I object to paying. I won't pay if I can help, because, I say, there is no wisdom in men going to fight to protect what they have not. Let them fight if they like, but not such as me who have nothing to fight for. I should be very sorry to put myself in such a ridiculous position as to go to be shot at. I recollect that asses spoke in ancient times, and they had a deal more sense than many men now.

Now, you remember the ass in the fable. His master flogged and said, "Look sharp on, the enemy are near behind, and we shall certainly be taken prisoners." Then spake the ass and said, "Shall I have two panniers to bear then instead of one?" "No," said the master. "Well, then, thou mayest shift for thyself; what matter does it make to me who's my master, so long as I have no more panniers to bear." This was sense, and we see that a sense of justice even emanated from an ass. Well, Balaam's ass spoke too, and very sensible was that ass also. "Am I not thine ass; have I not carried thee ever since I was thine ass? What have I done unto thee that thou hast smitten me these three times?" He was smitten only three times, and yet he resented it.

We asses, have always carried the aristocracy on our backs to the battle, and yet we have to be smitten many times a day. If we raise a meal, we have to be smitten in our tea, in our sugar, in our coffee, and indeed in almost everything we have; and though smitten in this way, though smitten far worse and more often than Balaam's ass, we take all quietly. But we'll not fight. Now this is the long and short of it. Give us summat to fight for, and then maybe we may. But it's a difficult matter to convince me that anyone has a right to kill his fellow men. I, for one, have no desire; for, as friend Tate says, "It does, I should think, produce a disagreeable sensation to have the thin end of a bayonet stuck into you." I was at the Manchester massacre, and I wasn't a mile off those that were killed either; the man I stood next to had a sword sent into him, which went in at his shoulder and came out at his breast. And it was the aristocracy that were at the bottom of that; the aristocracy, taking them as a class, and not including individual men, for there are some very good men among them, when they descend to be men. However, it's no matter; I'll not fight. If all workingmen would come forward and say they wouldn't fight, there would soon be an end of fighting altogether.

It is a nice thing enough to be an officer; you never hear tell of an officer deserting; the consequence is there's no occasion to flog an officer, because he doesn't desert. But I have seen sights awful enough, I'll assure you. In the beautiful little town of Doncaster I have seen fifteen men flayed alive in one morning. I have heard their screams while they got five hundred lashes each, till I turned sick and didn't know where I'd been. I learnt then to be peaceable, and ever since have had a particular disposition to be peaceable, and am determined that I'll have nothing to do with fighting. I'll pay nothing, if I can help it, but I can't help pay maybe; how, ever, I'll not do anything that I can help doing to enable war to be carried on. I say that it demoralized the population. The morality of the people of the last century, notwithstanding all our education and all our stuff, was better than it is now. The people were moral, but we shall walk back to the same pass again if we only keep the peace. If war had continued (addressing the chairman) you, sir, would never have presided at railway dinners. There would never have been a railway. There would have been no joint stock cotton mills. There was nothing else to be done but soldiering. Even boys thought of nothing else. When I was a boy we used to play at soldiers, and never at any thing else; and villagers and people in towns, wherever you went, were all seeking to be soldiers. I have no objection to the French coming over, and if they can find aught in our house that they think worth their while, they're welcome to it. They'll not find a deal in poor people's houses who stand in the same position as me, and I stand in the same position as the principal part of the working classes. What need we care?

The ass was right; it doesn't matter who drives us if we have no more panniers to carry. The principal wars have always been carried out by the aristocracy, because they are afraid the people should have time to think, and that, like the clock peddler that goes swinging backwards and forwards tick, tack, tick, tack, there should be nothing but work, work, work, for them. They have secured all the land of the country, and they have secured many things beside, and what they haven't secured the queen has. Everything belongs to her. It is "the queen's army," "the queen's navy," "the queen's revenue," and "the people's debt." We have nothing else that's national to divide among us, and so it will be until such time as workingmen are of my opinion, that they won't fight, and then there'll be an end of war.

## SOCIETY NOTES.

The coming of Mi-Careme was welcomed the past week more joyously than for many years past, and so much of entertaining was started by the license which custom permits to the day that marks the penitential season half completed that there was little ground for complaint of dullness even among the most enthusiastic devotees of gaiety. The Whitney reception, followed by the meeting of the Thursday evening club, also at Mrs. Whitney's; Miss Leary's luncheon for Mrs. Cleveland, other elaborate luncheons given by Mrs. Parish, Mrs. Jordan L. Mott and others, the meetings of the Knickerbocker Bowling and the two Badminton clubs, together with numberless dinners and theater parties, filled up the hours of the week most pleasantly. Despite the predictions of a deserted city and absolute social stagnation during the penitential season, the reverse has been the case, and social students are now beginning to ponder on the question whether we are growing less religious or more able to endure the fatigues of gaiety for long periods of time. The mild weather, which makes the idea of southern resorts seem somewhat paradoxical, has had probably the most to do with this unusual condition of affairs.—[New York Times.

Wilkesbarre, Pa., March 23.—John B. Pettibone, aged 31, attempted to commit suicide at his home in this city yesterday by shooting himself in the head. The deed resulted from despondency, caused by lack of work and inability to support his wife and two children. He lost his situation four months ago, and from that time grew very despondent. He was unable to find work and went to Pittsburgh. While away his furniture and household goods were sold, and his wife compelled to take two small rooms. He returned Sunday last, utterly despondent, and on Monday bought a revolver. He left the house yesterday morning to look for work again. "This is the last time I'll go out to do this," he said to his wife as he left. He was unsuccessful. He and his wife were seated together in their little room in the afternoon, when suddenly he bent forward and kissed her, saying: "Goodby, Jennie; I must leave you to do the best you can with the children." As he spoke he stood up, placed a pistol to his head, fired, and fell at her feet.

London society will be largely made up of Americans this season. The Bradley Martins, Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence Turnure and the Misses Turnure, go for the marriage of Lawrence Turnure, jr., to Miss Romaine Stone, which will take place June 1; Sir Rodrick Cameron and Miss Daisy Cameron, Mr. and Mrs. J. Forbes-Leith and Miss Forbes-Leith, the Cornelius and Willie K. Vanderbilt families, to say nothing of the American girls who have recently married foreign husbands, among whom are Mrs. Joseph Chamberlain, the Baroness Halkett and Mrs. Fernando Yznaga. Mrs. Mackay will probably spend most of her time in London, having purchased a palatial residence in Grosvenor square.—[New York Journal.

A shirtmakers' strike! These working women, driven by hard poverty, became desperate and actually refused to work sixteen hours a day making shirts thirty-five or fifty cents a dozen. Unreasonable mortals! It is impossible to live on these earnings; they are merely sufficient to starve on. The wolf is always at the door, whining for entrance, and the enfeebled toilers have scarcely strength enough to keep him back. This is a picture well worth our pondering. Philanthropy may be puzzled to find a solution of the problem, and religion may feebly sigh that such a state of things can exist in a great Christian city like New York; but facts are facts, and sooner or later they must be faced. Immeasurable wealth on the one side, poverty as dark and hopeless as the pit on the other; the impossibility of earning an honest livelihood and the temptation to lead a life of sin and plenty overlap each other. Then, when the girl, half starved and poorly clad, shivering with cold and utterly friendless, surrenders to fate, we cry, "Shame!" deplore the infidelity of the times and marvel that so many of our blooming youth betake themselves to evil ways. If tears can flow at human suffering they will not withstand the sorrows of a shirtmaker's life, but fall like heavy rain. Between the upper and nether millstones of fierce and ruthless competition these half paid women are being ground—thousands of them—to powder.—[New York Herald.

Liverpool, March 19.—The duchess of Marlborough sailed to day by the Teutonic. The duke saw her off. Marie Halton, the comic opera singer, also sailed by the same ship. Joseph Lewis saw her off. The duchess parted from her lord decorously and calmly. The prima donna hugged hers and wept upon his bosom. Lewis made her a parting present of a diamond necklace worth £1,000. Lewis returned to London dejected and sad. The Teutonic carried 1,350 passengers, of which 230 are in the saloon.

## THE BLESSING OF FAITH.

Chicago Herald.

The republican farmer's faith in his party is not putting any fat on his ribs, but it is a blessing to the monopolists.



## SINGLE TAX NEWS.

## SINGLE TAX PLATFORM.

The single tax contemplates the abolition of all taxes upon labor or the products of labor—that is to say, the abolition of all taxes save one tax levied on the value of land, irrespective of improvements.

Since in all our states we now levy some tax on the value of land, the single tax can be instituted by the simple and easy way of abolishing, one after another, all other taxes now levied, and commensurately increasing the tax on land values, until we draw upon that one source for all expenses of government; the revenue being divided between local governments, state governments and the general government, as the revenue from direct taxes is now divided between the local and state governments, or a direct assessment being made by the general government upon the states and paid by them from revenues collected in this manner.

The single tax is not a tax on land, and therefore would not fall on the use of land and become a tax on labor.

It is a tax, not on land, but on the value of land. Thus it would not fall on all land, but only on valuable land, and on that not in proportion to the use made of it, but in proportion to its value—the premium which the user of land must pay to the owner, either in purchase money or in rent, for permission to use valuable land. It would thus be a tax, not on the use or improvement of land, but on the ownership of land, taking what would otherwise go to the owner as owner, and not as user.

In assessments under the single tax all values created by individual use or improvement would be excluded, and the only value taken into consideration would be the value attaching to the bare land by reason of neighborhood, etc. Thus the farmer would have no more taxes to pay than the speculator who held a similar piece of land idle, and the man who on a city lot erected a valuable building would be taxed no more than the man who held a similar lot vacant.

The single tax, in short, would call upon men to contribute to the public revenues not in proportion to what they produce or accumulate, but in proportion to the value of the natural opportunities they hold. It would compel them to pay just as much for holding land idle as for putting it to its fullest use.

The single tax, therefore, would—

1. Take the weight of taxation off of the agricultural districts where land has little or no value irrespective of improvements, and put it on towns and cities where bare land rises to a value of millions of dollars per acre.
2. Dispense with a multiplicity of taxes and a horde of taxgatherers, simplify government and greatly reduce its cost.
3. Do away with the fraud, corruption and gross inequality inseparable from our present methods of taxation, which allow the rich to escape while they grind the poor. Land cannot be hid or carried off, and its value can be ascertained with greater ease and certainty than any other.
4. Give us with all the world as perfect freedom of trade as now exists between the states of our Union, thus enabling our people to share through free exchanges in all the advantages which nature has given to other countries, or which the peculiar skill of other peoples has enabled them to attain. It would destroy the trusts, monopolies, and corporations which are the outgrowths of the tariff. It would do away with the fines and penalties now levied on any one who improves a farm, erects a house, builds a machine, or in any way adds to the general stock of wealth. It would leave every one free to apply labor or expend capital in production or exchange without fine or restriction, and would leave to each the full product of his exertion.
5. It would, on the other hand, by taking for public uses that value which attaches to land by reason of the growth and improvement of the community, make the holding of land unprofitable to the mere owner and profitable only to the user. It would thus make it impossible for speculators and monopolists to hold natural opportunities unused or only half used, and would throw open to labor the illimitable field of employment which the earth offers to man. It would thus solve the labor problem, do away with involuntary poverty, raise wages in all occupations to the full earnings of labor, make overproduction impossible until all human wants are satisfied, render labor saving inventions a blessing to all, and cause such an enormous production and such an equitable distribution of wealth as would give to all comfort, leisure and participation in the advantages of an advancing civilization.

The ethical principles on which the single tax is based are:

1. Each man is entitled to all that his labor produces. Therefore no tax should be levied on the products of labor.
2. All men are equally entitled to what God has created and to what is gained by the general growth and improvement of the community of which they are a part. Therefore, no one should be permitted to hold natural opportunities without a fair return to all for any special privilege thus accorded to him, and that value which the growth and improvement of the community attaches to land should be taken for the use of the community.

## SNUG HARBOR LEASES.

AN INTERESTING AND SIGNIFICANT SALE OF PROPERTY, INCLUDING THE STEWART STORE.

A significant sale of leasehold property, including the great Stewart store, at Ninth and Broadway, and much other neighboring property, all on ground owned by the Sailors' Snug Harbor, took place last week. Here is a summary of the transactions:

Premises bounded by Broadway, Fourth avenue, Ninth and Tenth streets. Ground rent from May 1, 1890, to May 1, 1911, \$37,500; Albert B. Hilton, \$700,000.

No. 40 East Tenth street (or 21 Brevoort place). Ground rent on present lease, expiring May 1, 1907, \$500; Theodore Hemmerding, \$9,500.

No. 61 East Ninth street. Ground rent on present lease, expiring May 1, 1892, \$1,000; Ascher Weinstein, \$5,100.

No. 762 Broadway. Ground rent on present lease, expiring May 1, 1892, \$3,250. No. 761 Broadway. Ground rent on present lease, expiring Nov. 1, 1894, \$3,000. No. 768 Broadway. Ground rent on present lease, expiring Nov. 1, 1894, \$3,000; S. Dessau, \$29,000.

No. 80 East Ninth street. Ground rent on present lease, expiring May 1, 1897, \$750; Ascher Weinstein, \$9,100.

No. 82 East Ninth street. Ground rent on present lease, expiring May 1, 1897, \$750; Ascher Weinstein, \$6,200.

No. 84 East Ninth street. Ground rent from May 1, 1890, to May 1, 1911, \$900; Solomon Jacobs, \$6,800.

No. 86 East Ninth street. Ground rent from May 1, 1890, to May 1, 1911, \$900; A. B. Hilton, \$7,600.

No. 58 Fourth avenue and 88 East Ninth street. Ground rent from May 1, 1890, to May 1, 1911, \$1,200. No. 56 Fourth avenue. Ground rent from May 1, 1890, to May 1, 1911, \$950; \$25,000.

No. 143 East Eighth street. Ground rent on present lease, expiring May 1, 1902, \$700; Prescott Hall, \$13,500.

The purchaser of the Stewart store at Broadway and Ninth street is a son of Judge Hilton. The ground rent up to March, 1891, is \$36,000 per annum, and the trustees of the Sailors' Snug Harbor have decided upon a ground rent of \$37,500 per annum after May, 1891. Last year's taxes were \$20,475. The building brings in an annual rental of \$125,000.

## A COMPLIMENT TO HENRY GEORGE.

St. Louis, Mo.—Mr. U. S. Hall of Randolph county, this state, recently told me of a compliment that had been paid Mr. George's great work by Dr. S. S. Laws, late president of the state university of Missouri, which, taking into consideration the great, profound and varied learning of Dr. Laws, and his standing among the scholars and educators of this country, is the grandest compliment I have ever seen or heard paid to "Progress and Poverty."

Mr. Hall, who is state lecturer for the Farmers and laborers' union in this state, is a graduate of Yale, and a very bright, scholarly man, had read "Progress and Poverty." Shortly after finishing it he met Dr. Laws, and the following conversation occurred:

"Doctor," said Mr. Hall, "I have just finished reading Henry George's 'Progress and Poverty,' and am very much disturbed and perplexed by the reasoning and conclusions of its author. Of course you have read the book, and thought over it and reached some conclusion concerning the remarkable propositions contained in it, and can doubtless give me a satisfactory answer to them."

"Mr. Hall, do you want to win a deathless name, and make a million dollars?" asked Dr. Laws, in reply to Mr. Hall. "If you do, write a book that will successfully answer and controvert 'Progress and Poverty.'"

I may remark, without violating any confidence, that Mr. Hall is not thinking very seriously about writing the book.

H. MARTIN WILLIAMS.

## WHO ARE THE OWNERS?

THE CENSUS TO SHOW THE INDEBTEDNESS ON HOMES AND FARMS.

St. Louis Republic, March 16.

Mr. B. C. Keeler, secretary of the Western economic association, returned recently from Washington, whither he went at the request of Mr. Robert P. Porter, superintendent of census, to inspect the proposed methods of the census bureau in collecting the data of mortgage indebtedness in the United States. A reporter obtained from him yesterday some information concerning the work.

"You want to know specifically, I suppose, about the inquiry into the ownership and indebtedness of farms and homes," said Mr. Keeler. "Taking it as a whole, we shall have a vast amount of very important information, and it will, in fact, be the most interesting part of the whole census. The idea originated, as you know, in St. Louis. The original request was to know 'what percentage of the people in this country occupy their own homes and farms, and what percentage are tenants; and of those occupying their own homes and farms, what percentage have their property free from debt; and of the homes and farms under mortgage, what percentage of the value is so mortgaged.'"

"The bill as it passed congress—and which, by the way, was prepared by Mr. Porter himself—provides for this, and it also provides that the superintendent of census shall learn what rates of interest are paid and why the mortgages were placed upon the property. It also imposes a fine of \$100 upon

any person refusing to answer the inquiry. Mr. Porter enters very heartily into the work and intends to do it thoroughly. It falls under the immediate direction of Mr. George K. Holmes, who has charge of the department of recorded indebtedness. He impressed me as not taking quite so much interest in it as Mr. Porter did, although I am inclined to think, on reflection, that this is due to the point of view from which he looks at it. In the minds of the persons who first proposed the inquiry the predominating thought was the distribution of wealth, whereas, in Mr. Holmes's mind, the predominating thought is mortgage indebtedness. But Mr. Holmes is an extremely capable man, and if the policy of the census bureau as now laid down is thoroughly carried out the results will be extremely interesting. The only possible objection is that the returns will not show the value of the farms and homes free from debt. Students of the census will regret this as a serious mistake, and they will wonder why the information was not obtained. It will be impossible to show, except by indirect and imperfect means, the average value of the home and the farm which is free of debt. The omission was due apparently to the fact that the census officials did not regard the distribution of wealth as an important element of the inquiry. They regard the mortgage indebtedness as the main object."

"How is the information to be obtained?"

"The 40,000 enumerators who canvass the entire country in June will carry with them schedules containing all of the questions which are asked under the head of the enumeration of population. The major portion of the questions do not vary essentially from those contained in previous schedules, and some of them are decidedly searching. For example: The enumerator will go into your house, ask what your full name is, how old you are, whether you served in the army, whether you are married, how old your wife is, whether she is male or female, white, black, mulatto, quadroon, octoroon, Chinese, Japanese or Indian; how many children she has, how old your daughters are, whether the members of your family can read and write, whether they work or go to school and whether any of them are blind, deaf, deformed, prisoners, convicts or paupers. It seems rather funny, in view of such a list of questions, that an inquiry as to what your property is worth and how much it is mortgaged for should be regarded by anyone as inquisitorial. At the end of the schedule the question will be asked whether you hire or whether you own the home or farm on which you live; and if you own it, whether it is free from mortgage. If there be a mortgage upon it you will be asked to give the post office address of the owner of the property. The criticism I made a moment ago was that when the question was asked if you owned your home or farm and whether it had a mortgage upon it, 'What is its value?' should also have been asked. The inquiry as to the value of the property was omitted, as I understand it, on the ground that it would be inquisitorial."

"What is the object of taking the post office address of the owners of the property?"

"It is to send subsequently by mail to such persons as own their property, but are under mortgage, a supplemental inquiry getting full information concerning the property; and it strikes me as a good way to accomplish that result. Mr. Porter calls attention to the fact that farmers are sensitive on the subject of their mortgage indebtedness; that the enumerators, especially in rural districts, know personally nearly everyone to whom they will go; and that the farmer would protest against giving to a personal acquaintance in the neighborhood the facts concerning his indebtedness. When the schedules are sent to Washington they will be examined, and whenever the name and address appears of a man owning the home or the farm and having a mortgage upon it, the supplemental schedule will be sent by mail to him asking what the property is worth, the amount of mortgage on it, what rate of interest he pays, why the mortgage was placed on the property, and such other information as may be thought desirable. The schedule will state that he is requested to answer immediately these inquiries, that the information will be kept secret as the law directs, and that a fine of \$100 impends for a failure to respond. A 'return penalty envelope' will be inclosed, so that the schedule can be returned to Washington without paying postage. From the original and the supplemental schedules the information will be tabulated."

"Suppose the enumerator finds no one at home. How will he learn whether the place is mortgaged or not?"

"Mr. Porter says that he will in that case assume that the place is under mortgage, and will mail the occupant a supplemental schedule."

"What good will these facts do after they are published?"

"The first enumeration will not be so valuable as will be the means of comparing these returns with returns made a few years hence, so as to show the sweep of events. The recent failure of several farm mortgage companies shows that the agriculturists of the west are mortgaged for more than they are worth, and that they cannot pay the interest. The probability is that the next five years will witness a widespread foreclosure of farm mortgages, and the subsequent in-

crease of tenant farmers—that is to say, the American peasantry—and the concentration of land into fewer hands. Ten years are too long a time to wait for another such inquiry. The bill now pending in the house of commons providing for the census of 1891, also provides that the English census shall hereafter be taken once every five years. We ought also to have another inquiry on this subject, at most five years from now, to get such a means of comparison. The greater portion of the people of this country are under mortgage. As soon as that fact is officially known the next question will be, 'What produces this result among an industrious and frugal people?'

"You say this thing started in St. Louis?"

"Yes. A resolution was introduced at a meeting of the single tax league last July, asking to have these facts collected. The Republic supported the idea vigorously, and that encouraged the single tax league here to call on the single tax leagues of the United States to act also in the matter, which they did. The favorable public reception given to the efforts of the single tax leagues of the country still further stimulated the demand, and then the Western economic association took it up and issued its address to the farmers and the working class. About this time appeared Mr. Shearman's startling article in the November number of the Forum, entitled 'Who Owns the United States?' and that still further worked up the public mind. The result was a response which congress could not resist."

## EDMUND KIRKE AROUSED.

HIS INTEREST IN THE SOCIAL PROBLEM LEADS HIM TO THINK OF THE SINGLE TAX.

James R. Gilmore, who is known to many readers by his nom de plume, Edmund Kirke, writes this to Mr. Lincoln Cooper of Brooklyn:

LAKE GEORGE, N. Y.,

March 17, 1890.

MY DEAR SIR: I thank you sincerely for your letter of the 12th inst. I sympathize very strongly with the condition of what are called the "working classes." I see how hard a struggle life is to them, how much injustice they suffer at the hands of the better conditioned; and I would gladly, yes zealously, do what I could to help them. But is the putting of all taxes upon land going to do it? How would it affect such magnificent scoundrels as Sage and Gould, for instance, who own little or no land, and can put all their assets in a bushel basket, and yet can force produce up or down and so grind the faces of the poor? We must abolish trusts and monopolies of all sorts, and put all railroads, telegraphs, etc., in the hands of the government. This would ameliorate the evil but not, I think, radically cure it. It lies too deep for external treatment in the insane spirit of greed and selfishness which has possessed all classes, both poor and rich; and can you or I cure that? I fear we are on the eve of a social cataclysm, to which the miseries of the civil war will bear no comparison. But God knows; and His hand is over all and we can trust Him. I remember there were times during the civil war when it seemed to me that all was lost; but He brought us out right, and out of our very disasters secured His purpose to uplift the colored "working man." And what He did for the black, will He not do for the white? Does He not mean that the English speaking race shall be the apostles of enlightened liberty and Christian civilization to all mankind? Does not our wonderful history show that, and that our country is to be the standard bearer in that mighty march of the nations? I believe it does, and, therefore, I do not fear that He will suffer us to perish of inward corruption or to be torn in pieces by civil commotions in an insane struggle for a material good that will turn to ashes the moment we have it in possession. Ah! my friend, there is a great destiny before us, both as a country and as individuals. So do not lose heart. Remember "the Lord God omnipotent reigneth." Yet I know that He works by means, so tell me what I can do to help, comfort, uplift or cheer the great mass of my brother men, and I will gladly do it. for in my heart is that song of work, sung by one of old, and by all true men since the dawn of time, "Here am I, Lord, send me."

Sincerely your friend,

JAMES R. GILMORE (EDMUND KIRKE).

## THE PETITION.

SINGLE TAX ENROLMENT COMMITTEE,  
36 CLINTON PLACE,  
NEW YORK, March 25, 1890.

The single tax enrolment committee is circulating a petition asking the United States house of representatives to appoint a special committee to make inquiry into and report upon the expediency of raising all public revenues by a single tax upon the value of land, irrespective of improvements, to the exclusion of all other taxes, whether in the form of tariffs upon imports, taxes upon internal productions or otherwise. It will send blank petitions on application to any address, and single tax men are urged to obtain petitions and obtain signatures as a most convenient and effective way of starting the discussion of our principles.

Subscriptions toward the expenses of this committee's work for the week ending March 25, are as follows:



Thro' J. J. Christensen, Orange, N. J.	\$7 20
Thro' Philip Lewis, Wilmington, Del.	6 00
Thro' Wm. Mitchell, Saginaw, Mich.	1 05
Thro' Wm. Perkins, E. Saginaw, Mich.	8 10
Thro' G. B. Whaley, San Diego, Cal.	10 50
Thro' Adam Ehrhardt, St. Louis, Mo.	3 90
Thro' W. H. McCarthy, Cleveland, O.	3 60
Thro' Geo. McGee, Upper Lehigh, Pa.	9 60
Thro' F. H. Ringeman, Cincinnati, O.	9 00
William Matthews, Bryan, Wyo.	5 00
J. L. Babcock, Erie, Pa.	3 00
Thro' J. McClellan, Cumberland Mills.	6 80
Farrell & Flynn, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1 20
A. Fleming, Jackson, Cal.	50 00

Subscriptions previously acknowledged in THE STANDARD . . . \$125 55  
 Total . . . \$3,214 50

Cash contributions for the week are as follows:

Thomas Taylor, Youngstown, Ohio . . .	2 00
A. J. Slade, Gloversville, N. Y. . . .	1 50
Thro' Benj. Carman, Brooklyn, N. Y. .	1 00
Thos. Elliott, Knoxville, Tenn. . . .	50
F. C. Thompson, St. Augustine, Fla. .	50
Louis Lesaulnier (add.), Red Bud, Ill.	1 00
F. S. Briggs, New Hampton, Iowa . .	1 00
"P. H." Rosemont, Pa. . . . .	10
"P. H." Rosemont, Pa. . . . .	10
"Uncle Tom," Bryn Mawr, Pa. . . .	10
John N. Hazard, Peacedale, R. I. . .	10 00
John A. Brown, Peacedale, R. I. . .	1 00
Wm. T. Steadman, Peacedale, R. I. .	1 00
David Harrower, Wakefield, R. I. . .	3 00
Jas. E. Connell, Cambridge, Mass. . .	1 00
"Democrat," Detroit, Mich. . . . .	2 00
F. A. Nidig, Muscatine, Ia. . . . .	2 00
Henry Walker, Springfield, O. . . .	1 00
Sol. F. Clark, Little Rock, Ark. . . .	5 00
Richard Spencer, Burlington, Ia. . .	10 00
Fred. T. Burnham, Contoocook, N. H. .	1 00

Contributions previously acknowledged . . . \$41 80  
 Total . . . \$688 05

The enrolment now stands as follows:  
 Reported last week . . . 77,305  
 Received during the week ending . .  
 March 18 . . . 518  
 Total . . . 77,823  
 G. St. J. LEAVENS, Sec.

# THE ROLL OF STATES.

## NEW YORK CITY.

### AN INTERESTING EXPERIENCE MEETING—THE SINGLE TAX MEN AMONG THE PROHIBITIONISTS.

The Manhattan single tax club has been having bad luck lately with the gentlemen who have promised to deliver lectures. Last Thursday evening the lecturer again disappointed, and as a result a number of those present went down to a prohibition meeting at the corner of Christopher and Hudson streets, where the "George theory" was to be expounded by A. J. Steers. Those who remained behind, however, spent one of the most interesting evenings, intellectually, in the history of the club. Without calling a meeting, Benjamin Doblin read, for the amusement of those present, Professor Huxley's article, "Natural Rights and Political Rights" in the last Nineteenth Century. Professor Carlo Brizzi then played an overture, after which William H. Mathews was asked how he became a single tax man.

He gave a sketch of his life as a Methodist circuit preacher in Kansas and Nebraska twenty years ago; how, filled with the truths he had learned in the Bible, he had gone among the people of that section, only to find that the most devout among them were among the greatest land grabbers. Since reading "Progress and Poverty" he had become satisfied that within its covers was contained the true remedy for the evils that afflict our civilization; and he proposed, as soon as he could put the propositions in a striking way, to again preach to the people.

Then Joseph Dana Miller of Jersey City, Messrs. Brown and Pendar, T. P. Myers, E. Y. Cohen, Benj. Doblin, E. M. Klein, C. P. Kelly, W. J. Browne, Joseph McKechnie and others were asked in turn how they became single tax men. Their answers were varied; the collegian and sailor, the mechanic and business man, the waiter and lawyer, the tailor and silversmith, the carpenter and laborer, each giving the company present the course of reasoning that had brought them to the light. It was all most interesting. During the evening Messrs. Simon, Faulhaber and Steers sang, and Professor Brizzi played selections on the piano, among which were: "Fantasia sul Faust" (Gounod); "Fantasia sul Trovatore" (Verdi); "Salterello" (Brizzi). Mr. Duncan, from whom the club rents its rooms, sang two comic songs in imitable style.

Near the close of the meeting the delegation who had gone to the prohibition meeting returned, and reported that Mr. Steers's presentation of the single tax had been favorably received, especially by the women, who seemed to thoroughly understand the rent question as he put it. It is the intention of the club to "invade" the temperance meetings.

To-morrow (Thursday) evening the club will have its monthly "comers." A number of our Brooklyn friends intend paying the club a visit on that occasion, as also will many of the members of the general committee of the Ballot reform league. Besides the comers there will be singing, addresses and recitations, and Professor Brizzi will preside at the piano, as usual. The charge

for the comers is thirty-five cents, and all intending to participate will secure their seats early by sending the fee to the steward at the rooms of the club.

## BROOKLYN.

### A COMMITTEE TO EXAMINE THE CITY TAX ROLLS—LINDLEY VINTON'S LECTURE.

At the regular Wednesday evening meeting, March 19, it was resolved to make an extensive inquiry of the city's tax poll, and President Aitken was instructed to name a committee of five, of which he is to be one, to prepare plans for carrying this work out.

Mr. Lindley Vinton was the speaker Sunday evening, his subject being "Indirect Taxation." After showing that it was not in the province of government to so shape legislation as to offer inducements to individuals to embark in particular industries, and that it was a contravention of individual rights when they did anything that prevented any individual from exchanging the results of his labor, when and where he pleased, he proceeded to show the effect the tariff had had upon particular industries. He declared that it was impossible to collect a personal property tax with anything like equity; that despite the enormous amount of bonds, etc., held by New Yorkers, personal property paid but ten per cent of the taxes.

The address, which was attentively listened to throughout, was voted one of the most interesting and instructive that had ever been delivered before the club.

April 2 a strong delegation from the club will visit Flushing.

## NEW YORK STATE.

### THE EDITOR OF THE ROCHESTER TIMES TALKS TO A SINGLE TAX CLUB.

Harry D. Gagne, Rochester.—On Sunday afternoon, March 16, Henry Cale, editor of the Daily Evening Times, spoke before our union, "On a Modern Invasion." We had not the room to accommodate all who were present; many were obliged to stand all through his discourse. His subject treated on foreigners who come to this country buying up our land and manufactures, and controlling natural opportunities. "It will not be long," said the speaker, "before they will control our politics, and then the working people would begin to wake up to a knowledge of their true condition."

While Mr. Cale deplored this state of things, he could see no difference between an American and foreign speculator, for those who own the land own the people on the land.

We celebrated our first anniversary on Wednesday evening, the 19th inst. We had a good time. The Rev. J. W. A. Stewart of the First Baptist church was present and made some pleasing remarks.

J. J. Murray, Albany.—All members of the Albany single tax club and all readers of THE STANDARD are invited to attend a meeting of the single tax club Sunday evening, March 30, at their rooms, 68 Washington avenue.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

### A STATE ORGANIZATION EFFECTED, OFFICERS ELECTED AND A CODE OF LAWS ADOPTED.

Levi H. Turner, Boston.—An adjourned meeting of the single tax convention was held in Wells' Memorial hall Sunday, March 16, to complete the organization of the single tax state central committee of Massachusetts. The list of officers was completed, as follows: Chairman, Edwin M. White of Boston; vice-chairman, William F. Morrell of Cambridge; secretary, Levi H. Turner of Chelstow; treasurer, Sylvester C. Fay of Southboro.

The members-at-large of the executive committee are: Wm. Lloyd Garrison, of Boston; Andrew Garbutt, of Revere; Hon. Thomas J. Hartings, of Worcester; J. R. Carret, of Boston; James McGrady, of Malden; George N. Smith, of Newton Lower Falls; and Rev. Samuel Brazier of Boston.

The by-laws of the committee are as follows:

1. This organization shall be called The single tax state central committee of Massachusetts.
2. Its officers shall consist of chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and treasurer.
3. The executive committee shall consist of seven members at large, and one delegate from each single tax league in the state. The chairman of such single tax league shall act in this capacity until a delegate has been appointed. The officers of the state committee shall be officers ex-officio of the executive committee. Five members shall constitute a quorum.
4. Business meetings of the committee shall be held as follows: The first week in January and the last week in August; other meetings shall be called by the secretary when a request in writing, stating the business and signed by fifteen members, is presented.
5. The executive committee shall be authorized to hold public meetings and effect organizations in places having no organizations, and assist and co-operate with local organizations when requested to do so.
6. The treasurer shall have charge of all moneys and pay all bills—bills can be paid only by indorsement of secretary and chairman.
7. The officers shall be elected at regular meetings in January by ballot.

John Lavis, Dorchester, Boston.—John

Adams is now the secretary of our club. He is superintendent of Wells' memorial branch workingmen's institute, which has three nice rooms in the Field's building. He is an active worker. I have been asked to speak in Lynn next month. I expect we are making as much progress hereabouts as anywhere else.

## CONNECTICUT.

### A MANUFACTURER, NOT A SINGLE TAX MAN, GIVES HIS VIEWS ON TAXATION—INCREASED INTEREST IN BRIDGEPORT.

John G. Hopkins, Middletown.—Gaston T. Hubbard is a prominent manufacturer of this place. I presume he has not as yet seen the whole "cat," but that he has clearly seen something very like it is shown by the letter below, printed over his signature in the Penny Press. It is interesting reading:

I am glad to see that you have called the attention of our people to the fact that owners of building lots and pastures in our city are not paying a fair share of our taxes. Building lots are not taxed for anything like their value, and the assessors are neglecting this kind of property, so that it is possible for holders of building lots to block the growth of our city and town. I know of several building lots in this city that cannot be bought for from six to ten times the amount for which they are taxed. Building lots in a city should be taxed up nearer to the price at which the owners hold them than any property they have. Do that and the owners will be either compelled to pay fair taxes or improve the same. A poor man cannot to day buy a building lot at a fair price in this city. It is impossible for a person to buy lots so that houses can be built for rent to our mechanics and pay fair interest on the investment. This is all wrong. If any property is put on our list for less than value it is the homes of our "bread winners." I received a letter from a party, a resident of another town, saying, "My attorney tells me there is a boom in real estate in Middletown, and that my land is well worth \$25 per front foot," while it is not taxed for over \$3 per foot. If it is worth \$25 per foot, put it into the list at \$20 and you will soon find these real estate holders who pay small taxes ready to sell or put up buildings. Let any man buy a lot that is now taxed as pasture land and pay \$25 per foot and build him a home; he will find when he comes to pay his taxes the assessor has, in some mysterious way, heard of the great value of his lot, and he will be compelled to pay. Put the taxes on to building lots and let the land speculator pay his full share of the taxes.

James H. Payne, Bridgeport.—On Sunday afternoon, 23d, W. J. Gorsuch delivered an address before the members and friends of the Bridgeport social science club entitled, "The Eight Hour Law." Among the audience was a fair sprinkling of ladies. After the meeting was called to order Mrs. Gorsuch recited a poem entitled "Kate Rooney" with good effect, after which Mr. Gorsuch commenced his subject, which he handled with his usual ability. After the meeting closed some names were added to the membership. The meetings are held every Sunday afternoon at 2:30 p. m. All are welcome. Admission free.

## ILLINOIS.

### UNCONSCIOUS SINGLE TAX MEN—GOOD WORK WITH THE PETITION.

James Malcolm, Chicago.—The single tax is gradually leavening the lump in Chicago. While the growth of the club is encouraging it does not, as is the case I believe in other parts of the country, by any means indicate the wonderful spread of the light as we know it. People who are ignorant of what the term "single tax" implies in doctrinal truth are as vigorously fighting special privilege in its various forms as we ourselves. But this unconscious crusade against private property in land (for that is really what they are doing) is due to the persistent and undaunted efforts of those who will not run when called names.

Louis Lesaulnier, Red Bud.—The petition continues to draw much attention in my neighborhood, and every little while I hear of new converts to the single tax doctrine. Enthusiastic single tax men are still pretty scarce in this neighborhood; being overtaxed, the fight for a living leaves but little time and money for the most of those who, though they see the truth, are afraid to proclaim it. But courage will come as our strength increases.

S. T. Quincy.—Rev. Samuel H. Dana spoke before the single tax club Friday evening, 15th.

## MISSOURI.

### BRONSON KEELER'S VISIT TO SUPERINTENDENT PORTER—"PA" CHASE'S BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION.

Percy Pepon, St. Louis.—Bronson Keeler addressed the single tax league Tuesday night, reviewing the history of the successful movement, started by the St. Louis single tax league at Mr. Keeler's suggestion, for the obtaining of statistics of the number of home and farm owners and renters, and the number and amounts of home and farm mortgages. Mr. Keeler described the manner in which the committee appointed by the league, composed of Messrs. Williams, Keeler and Russell, had worked up public sentiment in all sections of the country in favor of the collection of the statistics, which finally resulted in such a pressure of letters, resolutions, petitions and demands from organizations of every character and individuals of all classes that an openly antagonistic majority in both houses of congress yielded and passed all the legislation necessary.

This is a bit of work that the St. Louis single tax league feels proud of. It will be the first attempt in any country to collect statistics of mortgages, which marks it as an important departure. United States consular reports, recently issued, deal with the subject of mortgages in foreign countries, and while all consuls report that no statistics whatever have ever been gathered, the opinions of experts are startling, and indicate that practically the whole population of the earth pay rent, either directly or in the form of interest, on mortgages. These consular reports are interesting reading to single taxers.

J. N. Symons, Benton Station, St. Louis.—I venture to say that we possess among our members as much enthusiasm as can be found anywhere in the same number. We have several in this little suburb that have seen the "cat," and seldom miss an opportunity of exposing the fair feline to those with whom they come in contact.

"Pa" Chase has just passed his seventieth year. To celebrate the event he has issued the following card to every person in Benton: 1820. 1890.

March—This is my Berth-Munth. I have good wishes for Evribodi. Kum and eat bred and fruit with me eni evening after 7½ p. m., from thi 1st to thi 15th of March.

"PA CHASE," Kumiert Kotag. Wyt "Salli" sez so too. NO PRESENTS.

By this means large crowds were drawn to "Pa's" house every evening for two weeks, and to each visitor, in parting, he gave single tax literature, requesting them to read and inwardly digest.

## NEBRASKA.

### THE GOOD DONE BY FATHER HUNTINGTON—LIGHT IN LINCOLN.

C. F. Beckett, Omaha.—During Father Huntington's visit here he has employed every moment, speaking in the various churches or addressing assemblies of workingmen; and it is both honorable to him and encouraging to the cause to know that his lectures have received the most marked attention.

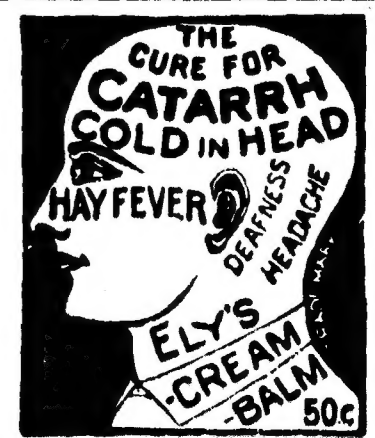
His two lectures on the single tax, delivered on March 9 and 16 in Boyd's opera house, were listened to by large and critical, yet withal enthusiastic, audiences. His full length utterances received a meed of applause astonishing to the professed single tax men present. His plea for free trade—and it was for free trade pure and simple—awakened a storm of applause.

The enthusiasm of the audience revealed the gratifying fact that the truth has found its way into many a dark corner; that there are thousands who favor the single tax, but who have not yet identified themselves openly with the reform; and that when it does become an issue its supporters will seem to rise from the ground to form a band that knows no defeat.

The single tax club of Omaha wishes to take this method of expressing their obligation to Father Huntington. We wish him all possible success, and trust he may find it convenient some day to favor Omaha with another visit.

N. D. Baker, Lincoln.—Though there are a number of single taxers in our city we have, as yet, no single tax club. The seed sown by "Progress and Poverty" and "Social Problems" has brought forth good fruit, some of which has ripened, while the seed that has fallen in less fertile soil, though making slower progress or growth, has commenced to bud, and in some instances to

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blossom. There are many here, who until recently were protectionists, are now pronounced free traders, though, as some of them are wont to express it, "h-a-r-d-l-y ready to adopt in full the teachings of Henry George." However, there is little doubt but that the reasoning that has led them from darkness to dawn will eventually bring them into the full light of day, "The Single Tax."

A more striking illustration of the wrong of private property in land could hardly be afforded than is shown in the city of Lincoln. Less than twenty-five years ago the land upon which this city of 50,000 population now rests was entered under the homestead laws of the United States. To-day vacant or unimproved lots, 25x142 feet, which cost the owner a nominal sum, are worth \$25,000, a value almost wholly due to increase of population. The owner who does not use or desire to use the land (and there are many such even in our young city), though he has never added to its value one penny, is enabled to extort a heavy tribute from the person who does desire to improve and occupy it. The existence of these conditions become the more alarming when taken in consideration with the fact that the land upon which we now stand was but twenty-five years ago unoccupied except by the coyote and buffalo.

#### RHODE ISLAND.

R. J. Bell, Ashton.—There is a small but active group of single taxers in this town. In a few days an election under the new law establishing the Australian system of voting will occur. Dr. L. F. C. Garvin, our present state senator, who is a single tax man, will be re-elected on the democratic ticket.

#### NEW JERSEY.

George Adams, Haledon.—We have just passed through a smart contest for a fair and just assessment in our township, and have come out victorious. A few men owning much valuable land and opportunities have had complete control of matters, and have even gone so far as to upset the assessor's valuations when he has shown a willingness to do the fair thing. We have elected a man who can see the injustice and will apply the remedy. To the credit of the Germans, be it said, they fell in as one man and acted solidly for justice. The heaven is working.

#### PENNSYLVANIA.

Uncle Tom, Bryn Mawr.—Thomas Jefferson's birthday is on the 13th of next month. As the single taxers are the only genuine democrats we should celebrate the event in some way. As most of us are too poor to do much financially, I think we should push the petition to congress beyond the 100,000 mark. I propose that each worker send in at least ten, and each reader of THE STANDARD five, extra signatures to the petition.

#### TENNESSEE.

S. P. Herron, Newcomb.—The editor of the Kentucky Democrat of Catlettsburg sees the claws of the cat. It calls the attention of the town board of supervisors that there are good business lots which the owners will neither build upon nor sell. The taxes paid upon them at present are merely nominal; the Democrat wants them assessed at the figure at which their owners hold them for sale, and thinks that would compel the owners to build or sell at a reasonable price to some one who will. It speaks of a case where the needs of business compelled a merchant to pay \$200 per front foot for a lot, which, on examination, was found by the editor of the Democrat to be rated by the city assessor at less than \$20 per front foot. The Democrat insists that the supervisors should see to it that real estate is taxed at at least a fair value.

#### IOWA.

M. V. Watros, Bonaparte.—I have found a new admirer of Mr. George and his works in Mr. Pedersen, my customer in Farmington, who informs me that quite a number have been reading "Progress and Poverty," etc., in a class or society under the auspices of Mr. Allison (superintendent of schools), Rockwell and others, and that quite a number of them as a result see the "feline" in all its beauty. Mr. F. Reidig of Muscatine reports their social science society as having most interesting meetings the past winter, at which the single tax was frequently on the bill of fare and presented in many of its phases and with good results.

One editor and several professional and business men, some openly and others quietly, are giving their indorsement of the justice and urgent necessity of the adoption by the people of the single tax. I have just learned that Mr. J. Meek of this place is a free trader. He is proprietor of the woolen mills here, the leading industry of the place. I hope THE STANDARD can prove to him the justice and need of the removal of all trade restrictions, and that the tariff generally works on the people as a whole as the wool tariff does on him as a manufacturer.

#### SCOTLAND.

REV. DAVID MACRAE ON "LAND, LABOR AND RELIGION"—AN IMPORTANT LAND BILL TO BE INTRODUCED INTO PARLIAMENT.

S. T., Glasgow.—The Temperance institute, Landreary street, Bridgeton, was crowded till there was scarcely standing room in the

place on Sunday, February 28, when the Rev. David Macrae of Dundee delivered a lecture on "Land, Labor and Religion," under the auspices of the eastern branch of the Scottish land restoration league. The subject, said the lecturer, was one involving great difficulty, but at the same time was one of great urgency. The land question was connected with almost every other; it was an economic question, a social question, a municipal question, a political question, a moral question and a religious question. But many said religion had nothing to do with the land, nor ministers with political questions. "You let such questions alone and keep to the sinners of bible times," said they, "but don't meddle with any living sinners; don't meddle with any questions that either the masses or the classes would like left alone; don't interfere with existing arrangements and susceptibilities. Denounce Ahab if you like, or his appropriation of Naboth's vineyard; but let modern landlordism alone." No; said the prophet, "Thus saith the Lord God, remove violence and spoil and execute judgment and justice." The fact was that the bible lost half its power if it did not lead us to do for our time as well as, if not better than, the prophets and apostles did for their times. The theory that religion had nothing to do with politics was not even a bible theory. In the Old Testament there was nothing more particularly cared for in the Jewish system than the land laws and the land arrangements, the arrangements being made so as to protect the poor from injustice and from robbery, to protect the people from the aggressions of those who would add field to field and house to house, until they stood alone themselves in the heart of the earth. Elijah protested against robbery and injustice, though the robber might be king and the robbed man a poor crofter like Naboth. And when we turned to the New Testament we found Christ teaching us to pray "Thy kingdom come," the kingdom which was a kingdom of light and life, of goodness and justice, "and Thy will be done," here in Glasgow and in the world everywhere, "as it is in heaven." If we were to pray for that, we were to strive for it. What was the use of prayer that did not translate itself into action? And if God's kingdom was to come and to prevail in this world everything that was opposed to that kingdom, and therefore opposed to goodness and justice, and fair-play and fraternity, had to go down. The fact was that Christianity required justice impressed on the individual conduct, and through that upon national laws and national institutions. A really Christian nation could no more content itself with iniquitous laws than a really Christian man could content himself with a life of dishonesty or of habitual sin. Christianity had as much to do with the question whether the land belonged to the nation or to the aristocracy as to whether the money that a man was spending was his own or was stolen or embezzled from some other body. The land question was therefore not only a political but a religious question, and it seemed to him to be a part of the work of churches and of Christian people to see that the land system was brought into harmony with justice and righteousness.

S. T., Dundee.—An important bill, which will raise the whole question of the unearned increment, has been prepared and is to be brought into the house of commons by Mr. Munro Ferguson, Mr. R. B. Haldane and Mr. Leng, M.P.'s. The object of the bill is to confer on local authorities—town councils in towns and county councils in counties—power to enable them to compulsorily purchase land, or have it valued with a view to taxation. The intention of the bill, it will be seen, is to secure as far as possible for the public that social wealth created by the growth of communities which hitherto has almost entirely found its way into the pockets of land holders. This enhanced value is solely due to the growth of the community, and land reformers have long held that this increase should be shared with the community and not as at present, wholly annexed by the land owner. One of the objects of the proposed bill is to secure that this should be done in the future.

#### NEW ZEALAND.

S. T., Masterton.—On Saturday evening, February 15, Mr. W. McLean addressed an audience at the Theatre Royal on the subject of the single tax. After explaining what the single tax was, the lecturer told his audience of the taxes that were now levied on the industry of New Zealand, and he asserted that the toilers and workers paid more than the lion's share of it. The result of the lecture was the formation of the Masterton single tax society.

The lecture has created a deep impression here, the Wairarapa Star, the leading paper here, giving three columns of its local news space to a report of the meeting, besides referring to it editorially.

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##### Catarrhal Deafness—Hay Fever—A New Home Treatment

Sufferers are not generally aware that these diseases are contagious, or that they are due to the presence of living parasites in the lining membrane of the nose and eustachian tubes. Microscopic research, however, has proved this to be a fact, and the result of this discovery is that a simple remedy has been formulated whereby catarrh, catarrhal deafness and hay fever are permanently cured in from one to three simple applications made at home by the patient once in two weeks.

N. B.—This treatment is not a snuff or an ointment; both have been discarded by reputable physicians as injurious. A pamphlet explaining this new treatment is sent free on receipt of stamp to pay postage, by A. H. Dixon & Son, 337 and 339 West King street, Toronto, Canada.—[Christian Advocate.]

Sufferers from Catarrhal troubles should carefully read the above.—[Adv.]



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become listless, fretful, without energy, thin and weak. But you can fortify them and build them up, by the use of

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For Stomach and Nervous Disorders, such as Wind and Pain in the Stomach, Sick Headache, Giddiness, Fullness, and Swelling after Meals, Dizziness and Drowsiness, Cold Chills, Flushings of Heat, Loss of Appetite, Shortness of Breath, Constipation, Nervy Stitches on the Side, Disturbed Sleep, Frequent Dreams, and all Nervous and Trembling Sensations, &c. **THE GREAT ENGLISH MEDICINE** **WORTH A GUINEA A BOX**

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## SINGLE TAX ORGANIZATIONS.

(Secretaries of clubs are requested to send any corrections in the list below, and all newly formed organizations are asked to report promptly, either to the Enrollment committee or The Standard.)

## ARKANSAS.

**LITTLE ROCK.**—Little Rock single tax club. Every alternate Thursday evening, 717 Main st. Pres., Sol F. Clark; sec., O. D. Hemming, 1910 Main st.

## CALIFORNIA.

**SAN FRANCISCO.**—California single tax society. Every Sunday evening, St. George's hall, 909½ Market st. Library and reading room open from 9 a. m. to 10 p. m., 841 Market st. Pres., H. L. Pleace; sec., G. A. Hubbell. Address of all officers, 841 Market st.

**SACRAMENTO.**—Single tax club of Sacramento. Every Friday evening, Dr. Reed's office, 6th and K sts. Pres., Dr. Thos. B. Reed; sec., C. W. Farnsworth, 1406 4th st.

**OAKLAND.**—Single tax club No. 1 meets every Friday evening at St. Andrews hall, 1050½ Broadway. Pres., A. J. Gregg; sec., E. Haddins.

**LOS ANGELES.**—Los Angeles single tax club. Pres., I. J. Harrell; sec., Clarence A. Miller.

**SAN DIEGO.**—San Diego single tax county committee. Every Monday evening, 139 10th st. Chairman, Geo. B. Whaley, Novette book stand, 439 Fifth st.

**BLACK DIAMOND.**—Contra Costa county single tax committee. Jeff. A. Bailey, sec.

## COLORADO.

**STATE.**—Colorado State single tax association, room 14, Byers block, 15th and Champa sts. Pres., A. W. Elder; sec., H. C. Niles; treas., Geo. Champion.

**DENVER.**—Denver single tax association. Every Thursday evening, room 14, Byers block, 15th and Champa sts. Free reading room open every day, 9 a. m. to 9 p. m. Pres., G. H. Phelps; sec., F. L. Monroe, 2551 Marion st.

**PUEBLO.**—Commonwealth single tax club. First and Fourth Thursdays at office of D. B. V. Reeve, Union av. Pres., D. B. V. Reeve; sec., J. W. Brentlinger, Pueblo Smelting and Refining Co.

**GRAND JUNCTION.**—Mesa county single tax and ballot reform club. Pres., James W. Bucklin; sec., Geo. Smith.

**CANYON CITY.**—Single tax committee; sec., Dr. Frank P. Blake.

## CONNECTICUT.

**NEW HAVEN.**—Tax reform club. Every Friday evening, room 11, 102 Orange st. Pres., Willard D. Warren; sec., Alfred Smith, 105 5th st.

**MERIDEN.**—Meriden single tax club. 3 p. m. every Sunday, Circle hall. Pres., Wm. Hawthorne; sec., Wm. Williss, P. O. box 1342.

## DAKOTA.

**STATE.**—South Dakota single tax association. Pres., Judge Levi McGee of Rapid City; sec., W. E. Brokaw, box 146, Bristol.

**RAPID CITY.**—Black Hills single tax league. Last Saturday in each month, Library hall. Pres., Judge Levi McGee; sec., Francis H. Clark.

**MADISON.**—Lake county single tax club. Chairman, Prof. E. H. Evanson.

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

**WASHINGTON.**—Washington single tax league; always open; regular meeting Friday evening, 600 F street, N. W. Pres., Paul T. Bowen; sec., Wm. Geddes, M. D., 1719 G st., N. W.

## FLORIDA.

**PENSACOLA.**—Pensacola single tax club No. 1. Tuesday evenings, K. of L. hall, corner of Zaragoza and Palafox sts. Pres., J. Davis Wolfe; sec., James McHugh.

**TAMPA.**—Thomas G. Shearman single tax league. First Monday in each month, business meeting; Sundays, public speaking. Pres., C. E. Ainsworth; sec., John H. McCormick.

## GEORGIA.

**ATLANTA, Ga.**—Atlanta single tax club No. 1. Pres., J. M. Beath; sec., J. Henley Smith, 67 Whitehall st.

**AUGUSTA.**—Augusta single tax club. Every Friday evening, Hussar hall. Pres., Ed. Flury; sec., George Haines, care of Loflin & Meyer.

## ILLINOIS.

**CHICAGO.**—Chicago single tax club No. 1. Every Thursday evening, club room 4, Grand Pacific hotel. Pres., Warren Worth Bailey; sec., F. W. Irwin, 217 La Salle st., room 835.

**SPRINGFIELD.**—Sangamon single tax club. Pres., Joseph Farris; sec., James H. McCrea, 623 Black ave.

**JACKSONVILLE.**—Morgan county single tax club. Pres., Col. Wm. Camm of Murrayville; sec., Chas. W. Alexander of Jacksonville.

**SPARTA.**—Single tax committee. Sec., Wm R. Bailey.

**QUINCY.**—Gem City single tax club. Every Friday evening, Opera house building. Pres., C. F. Perry; cor. sec., Duke Schroer, 327 S. 3d.

## INDIANA.

**STATE.**—Indiana single tax league. Pres., Henry Rawie, Anderson; vice-pres., L. P. Custer, Indianapolis; sec., Thos. J. Hudson, 155 Elm st., Indianapolis. State executive committee, Henry Rawie, Anderson; S. W. Williams, Vincennes; L. O. Bishop, Clinton; Dr. C. A. Kersey, Richmond; Chas. G. Bennett, Evansville; Wm. Henry, Connersville; W. E. McDermut, Ft. Wayne; T. J. Hudson, J. F. White, L. P. Custer, Indianapolis.

**CLINTON.**—Single tax club; Sunday afternoon, 3 o'clock, Argus office. Pres., W. V. Wells; sec., L. O. Bishop.

**FORT WAYNE.**—Single tax club. Pres., W. E. McDermut; vice pres., J. M. Schwerzgen; sec., Henry Cohen.

**INDIANAPOLIS.**—Indianapolis single tax league. Every Tuesday evening, 8 p. m., Main st. hall, n. e. cor. Washington and Alabama sts. Pres., Dr. Brown; sec., L. P. Custer.

**EVANSVILLE.**—Single tax association. Pres., Edwin Walker; sec., Charles G. Bennett.

**RICHMOND.**—Single tax club. Pres., C. S. Schneider, 105 South Third st.; sec., M. Richie, 973 South A st.

## IOWA.

**BURLINGTON.**—Burlington single tax club. First and third Wednesday of each month, 213 Jefferson st. Pres., Richard Spencer; sec., Wilbur Moore, 220 Hedge ave.

**DES MOINES.**—Single tax club. Pres., H. B. Allison, box 4; sec., J. Ballanger.

**COUNCIL BLUFFS.**—Council Bluffs single tax club; second and fourth Sunday of each

month, 230 p. m.; 724 Sixth st. Pres., Chas. Stevenson; sec., J. Kinnehan, 334 W. Broadway.

**ALBERTON.**—Tax reform club. Every Thursday evening, Vest's hall. Pres., A. J. Morgan; sec., D. D. Shirley.

**MARSHALLTOWN.**—Single tax committee. Pres., James Skegg; sec., Hans Erickson.

**MASON CITY.**—Single tax committee; 1st and 3d evenings of each month at Dr. Osborne's office. Pres., J. A. Scranton; sec., J. S. Mott.

## KANSAS.

**ABILENE.**—Single tax club. Pres., C. W. Brooks; vice-pres., H. Charters; sec., A. L. Russel.

**GROVE HILL.**—Grove Hill single tax club. Thursday evenings, Grove Hill school house, Lincoln township, Dickinson county. Pres., E. Z. Butcher; sec., Andrew Reddick.

## LOUISIANA.

**NEW ORLEANS.**—Louisiana single tax club. Second, third and fourth Thursdays of each month, at 205 Canal st. Pres., John S. Waters, Maritime association; sec., Geo. W. Roberts, 326 Thalia st.

## MAINE.

**AUBURN.**—Auburn single tax club. Saturday evenings, room 3, Phoenix block, Main st.; reading room open every evening. Pres., Thos. Marsden; sec., W. E. Jackson, 1227 7th st.

**LEWISTON.**—Single tax committee. Every Wednesday evening, 79 Summer st. Chairman, F. D. Lyford; sec., Joseph Walsh, 79 Summer st.

## MARYLAND.

**BALTIMORE.**—Single tax league of Maryland. Every Thursday evening, Druid hall, cor. Jay and Baltimore sts. Pres., Wm. J. Ogden; sec., J. W. Jones, 31 N. Caroline st.

**BALTIMORE single tax society.** Every Sunday evening, 8 p. m., at Industrial hall, 316 W. Lombard st. Pres., J. G. Schonfarber; W. H. Kelly.

**Single tax association of East Baltimore.** Pres., J. M. Ralph; sec., Chas. H. Williams, 312 Myrtle av.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

**BOSTON.**—Boston single tax league, Wells's memorial hall. Pres., Hamlin Garland, 12 Moreland st.; sec., Edwin M. White, 27 Pemberton square.

**Neponset single tax league.** Every Thursday evening, 339½ Neponset ave., Boston. Sec., Q. A. Lothrop, 43 Walnut st.

**Dorchester single tax club.** Every other Wednesday evening, Field's building, Field's Corner. Rooms open every day from 10 a. m. to 10 p. m. Pres., Ed Frost; sec., John Adams, Field's building.

**Roxbury single tax club.** Pres., Frank W. Mendum; sec., Henry C. Romaine, 250 Rugles st.

**STONEHAM.**—Stoneham single tax league. Pres., Dr. W. Symington Brown, Stoneham.

**LYNN.**—Lynn single tax league. Pres., C. H. Libbey st., 331 Washington st.; sec., John McCarthy, 140 Tunson st.

**WORCESTER.**—Tenth district single tax league of Worcester. Meetings first Thursday of each month, class room, Y. M. C. A. building, 20 Pearl st. Pres., Thomas J. Hastings; sec., Edwin K. Page, Lake View, Worcester.

**LAWRENCE.**—Lawrence single tax club. Every Thursday evening, Col. J. P. Sweeney's office. Pres., Col. John P. Sweeney; sec., John J. Donovan, city clerk's office.

**HYDE PARK.**—Single tax club. Sec., F. S. Childs, 40 Charles st.

**ORANGE.**—Single tax league of Orange. First Wednesday of each month, pres. and secretary's residence. Pres., H. W. Hammond; sec., Charles G. Kidder.

**NEWBURYPORT.**—Merrimac assembly. Saturday evenings, 48 State st. Pres., Dennis F. Murphy; sec., W. R. Whitmore, 336 Merrimac st.

**MALDEN.**—Single tax club. Meetings fortnightly at Deliberative hall, Pleasant st. Pres., Geo. W. Cox, Glenwood st.; sec., Edwin T. Clark, 100 Tremont st.

## MICHIGAN.

**STURGIS.**—Sturgis club of investigation. Every Tuesday evening, C. Jacob's justice court room. Pres., Rufus Spalding; sec., Thomas Harding.

**SAGINAW.**—Single tax club, rooms 413 Genesee av., East Saginaw. Pres., Edward L. Weggenier; sec., Jas. Duffy, 503 State st.

## MINNESOTA.

**MINNEAPOLIS.**—Minneapolis single tax league. Every Tuesday evening at the West Hotel. Pres., C. J. Buell, 402 W. Franklin av.; sec., J. A. Sawyer, 309 Lumber exchange.

**South Minneapolis single tax club.** Wednesday evenings, at 1809 E. Lake st. Pres., A. M. Goodrich; sec., P. F. Hammersley.

**ST. PAUL.**—Pres., H. C. McCartney; sec., R. C. Morgan, Northern Pacific railroad office.

## MISSOURI.

**ST. LOUIS.**—St. Louis single tax league. s. e. cor. 8th and Olive, meets every Tuesday evening. Rooms open every evening. Pres., E. H. Hoffman; sec., J. W. Steele, 2738 Gamble street.

**"Benton School of Social Science."** Saturday, 8 p. m., 6339 Waldemar ave., St. Louis. Pres., Dr. Henry S. Chase; sec., Wm. C. Little.

**LA DUE.**—The Reform club of La Due. Pres., W. Stephens; sec., Jas. Wilson.

**KANSAS CITY.**—Kansas City single tax club. Lectures Thursday evenings at 8 o'clock and Sunday afternoons at 3. Headquarters, cor. 15th st. and Grand av.; open every week day until 10 o'clock p. m.; the public cordially invited. Pres., H. S. Julian; sec., J. C. Williams, N. Y. Life building.

**HERMANN.**—Single tax committee. Pres., R. H. Hasenritter; sec., Dr. H. A. Hibbard.

**HIGH GATE.**—Single tax league. Meetings on alternate Thursdays at the house of W. M. Kinhead. Pres., Wm. Kinhead; sec., J. W. Swaw.

**OAK HILL.**—Single tax league. Pres., F. Debolt; sec., J. W. Miller.

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**PATERSON.**—Passaic Co. single tax club. Pres., E. W. Nellis; sec., John A. Craig, 192 Hamburg ave. Meetings every Monday evening at 169 Market street.

**S. ORANGE.**—S. Orange single tax club. Pres., E. H. Wallace; sec., Henry Haase.

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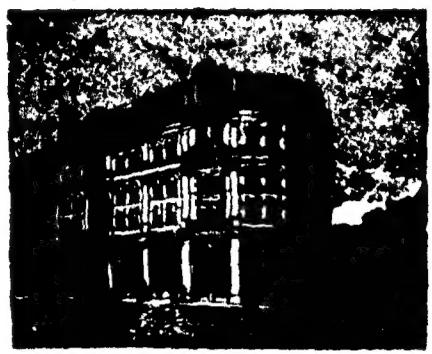
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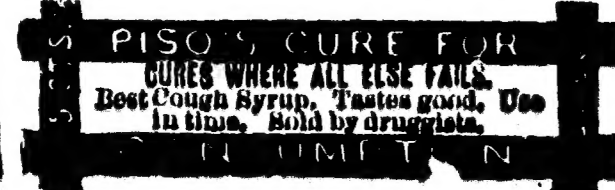
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